

**'HAJI MUHAMMAD JAN QUDSI OF MASHHAD,
HIS LIFE, TIMES AND WORKS'**

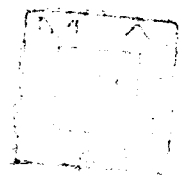
A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF Ph.D.

Under the Guidance of

Professor Zia-i-Ahmad

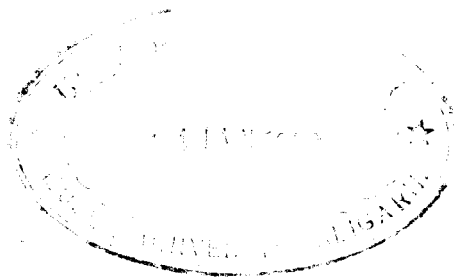
**HEAD OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PERSIAN
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH.**

RECEIVED



By
SAMI-UDDIN AHMAD.

T 192



T192

Wan
CHECKED-2002

Haji Mohsammad Jan Qudsi of Mashhad,

HIS LIFE, TIMES AND WORKS'

C O N T E N T S

	Page
PREFACE 	vi1
CHAPTER I	
<u>INTRODUCTORY</u>	1
CHAPTER II	
<u>LIFE IN PERSIA</u>	6
Name, birth, birthplace, Parentage, ancestry and education, stay at Mashhad, Qudsi's sacred pilgrimage to the holy places, journey to Herat, Relation with Shah Abbas-the great, his relation with the governors of Mashhad and Herat, departure for India, a Review of Qudsi's life in Persia.	
CHAPTER III	
<u>THE COURT OF SHAHJAHAN</u>	44
Literary and cultural atmosphere at the Mughul Court, Qudsi's arrival and stay in India, stay at the royal court of Shahjahan, Liberal awards which Qudsi received on numerous occasions from his patrons, Qudsi did not become king of poets, character of Qudsi, Religion, Death, last days of Qudsi, descendents.	
CHAPTER IV	
<u>CONTEMPORARY POETS OF QUDSI</u> ...	85
Abu Talib Kalim, Abul Barakat poetically named Munir of Lahore, Mulla Shaيدا, and Mulla Tughra.	
CHAPTER V	
<u>WORKS OF QUDSI</u>	122
Criticism on Qudsi's poetry, views of various writers, The Naat(poems in praise of the prophet)Panegryics,Odes Qudsi representing the later group of poets, Couplet poems, Strophes and Return ties, Quatrains, Fragmentary poems.	
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>	171

NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION

The following system has been used for Arabic and Persian Letters:

C O N S O N E N T S

ا	= a	س	= s
ب	= b	ش	= d
پ	= p	ط	= t
ت	= t	ظ	= z
ث	= th	ع	=
ج	= j	غ	= gh
چ	= ch	ف	= f
ح	= h	ق	= q
خ	= kh	ک	= k
د	= d	ج	= g
ذ	= dh	ل	= l
ر	= r	م	= m
ز	= z	ن	= n
ژ	= zh	و	= w
س	= s	ه	= h
ش	= sh	ی	= y
		ء	= ,

V O W E L S

(Short Vowels)

زیر = a = (ب = Band); زیر = i = (س = Siraj)

بی = u = (م = Muslim)

(Long Vowels)

آ = (کشیده) = a = (جان = Jan); ی = i = (میر = Mir)

ی = (کشیده) = e = (شیر = Sher); و = u = (نور = Nur)

و = (کشیده مجهول) = 0 (لودی = Lodi)

DIPHTHONGS (مصوت دوتا)

ay = مے - ے = (Maykhanah, Rayhan)

au = رو - دو = (Raudah, Firdausi)

Note: (a) If a word begins with alphabet 'a', it indicates 'alif' with the short vowel 'a' (زیر), such as Ahsan (احسن).

(b) If a certain word begins with the alphabet 'i', it indicates 'alif' with the short vowel 'i' (زیر), such as Ikram (اکرام).

(c) If any word begins with alphabet 'u' it indicates 'alif' with the short vowel 'u' (زیر), such as Umara (امرا).

No attempt has been made to transliterate certain very known and common words which are proper nouns also such as Tehran, Patna, Aligarh, Bankipur etc.etc.

ABBREVIATIONS

A.S.B. :	Asiatic Society of Bengal
I.O.L. :	India Office Library
Khulasah:	Khulasat-ul-Afkar by Abu Talib Isfahani
Nasrabadi:	Memoir of poets by Tahir Nasrabadi
Safinah:	Safinah-i-Khushgo, by Vfindaban Das Khushgo
Tadhkirah:	Tadhkirat-ush-Shuara by Abd-ul-Ghani

P R E F A C E

It is with full consciousness of its manifold defects that I am presenting to Persian scholars this work on 'Haji Muhammad Jan Qudsi, his life, times and works'- a field hitherto unexplored and towards which my attention was directed by my learned teacher Dr. Hadi Hasan, until very recently Head of the Department of Persian, Muslim University, Aligarh.

A work of research on any branch of Indo-Persian literature is of singular importance today. Perhaps never before was there felt a desire so keen and so intense, as it is being felt now, to develop and revive, on the basis of old cultural relations, fresh and stronger bonds of good will, mutual friendship and cultural understanding between sister-countries- India and Iran. The present thesis is a natural consequence of this feeling. What it, primarily, aims at is to present an image of what Persian poets and scholars did under the generous patronage of Mughal rulers in India. Qudsi was a very notable poet of Shahjahan's court, enjoying a reputation in no wise less than Kalim himself, the then poet laureate of India. Qudsi has been frequently quoted by Mirza Ghalib, the great classical poet of Urdu, in his Adabi Khutut. The popularity of Qudsi's verse is unquestionable and has survived even to this day. Mirza Ala-ud-Daula Ashraf Ali Khan in his memoir of poets has referred to, and utilised for his own purpose, a number of such

anthologies in which fairly large selections of Qudsi's verses are preserved. Qudsi's greatest achievement, as it appears to me, is the historical mathnawi, entitled Zafar Namah, which he dedicated to Shahjahan, and which is a mine of information for the history of Shahjahan's times. It is a unique work-being the only parallel with Kalim's Shahjahan Namah-another poetical history of a similar character.

As for the sources of material, I have mainly depended upon Persian biographies in the form of original MSS. Some valuable contemporary works both biographical as well as historical have been utilised with special interest. It, however, required a good deal of mental labour to arrange facts in a connected form out of all those diverse and conflicting statements which appear in most of the biographers, particularly in those of later times. Such works, in general, do not aim at giving coherent accounts. In fact, as it would appear subsequently, I have chiefly based particulars of my conclusions upon internal evidences emerging from the writings of the poet himself.

I cannot claim that this work contains all possible material on Qudsi but I have made use of every source of information which came to my knowledge. I have worked in oriental Library Bankipur(Patna); State Library Rampur; the Library of Late Alhaj Habib-ur-Rahman Khan Sherwani at Habibganj(District Aligarh) and the Muslim University MSS.

Library, Aligarh. I shall, however, feel myself amply rewarded if this work serves in its own humble way as a small contribution to the understanding of Persian poetry of a glorious era.

I am grateful to a number of scholars. My deepest sense of obligation goes to my teacher and guide Professor Zia-i-Ahmad Badauni, Head of the Department of Persian, Muslim University, Aligarh, without whose supervision and help, this work would not have come into existence. He not only drew my attention to a number of inaccuracies but also gave me valuable suggestions and helped me in many ways. His single-minded adherence to the noble cause of knowledge and learning fired in me an enthusiasm for work. I am also deeply indebted to Messrs. Qadi Abd-ul-Wadud of Patna, and Imtiyaz Ali Khan Arshi of Rampur for extending to me not only their most gentlemanly behaviour but also their precious suggestions concerning many problems connected with this research work. I also owe a debt of gratitude to Dr. Khaliq Ahmad Nizami, Reader, Department of History, Muslim University, Aligarh who took most affectionate interest in my work and whose kind and scholarly advices were a source of immense help and great inspiration to me. I shall be failing in my duties if I do not express my sense of gratitude to Dr. Nadhir Ahmad, Reader, Department of Persian and Dr. Munibur Rahman, Reader, Department of Islamic Studies, Muslim University, Aligarh, for suggesting to me various important points and making corrections

(x)

where necessary. Finally, I must thank the Government of India for having awarded me a scholarship in Humanities without which, most certainly, this work would not have been taken up.

To read Arabic and Persian words a transliteration system has been followed for which a separate note has been given.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY

Persian poetry produced during the reigning period and under the fostering care of Timurid rulers in India stands out as a unique contribution not only to Indo-Persian literature but also to Persian literature as a whole. It is a source of dynamic synthesis of the cultures of two great countries-- India and Persia. It is an excellent production of the minds of poets purely Persian in origin who being dissatisfied with literary conditions in their own native land, adorned the dazzling courts of Indian rulers, sang their praises and left to posterity valuable achievements in the realm of literature and art.

Judging with a broader view, India has played a considerably major role in championing the cause of Persian language and literature even since those memorable days when the Ghaznawids first established at Lahore a unique cultural centre--thus laying the foundation-stone for future prosperity of a language and poetry which was hitherto totally alien to Indian soil. Masūd-i-Sa'd, son of Salman, who was born and brought up in Lahore, in purely Indian environment, has contributed to Persian poetry a valuable collection of verses which can easily match with any similar specimen produced

in Iran. His Habsiyat (prison poems) written during his long confinement appeal greatly to Persian and Indian mind.

Thus, the work which had started on very narrow, yet stable, grounds began to move towards maturity till it reached its zenith with the ascendancy of Mughal rule in India.

Mulla Abd-ul-Qadir Badauni in the third volume of his celebrated Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh, which is exclusively devoted to the biographies of saints, learned men and poets, has enumerated no less than 167 Persian poets who were attracted to Akbar's court. Likewise, Abul-Fadl in his Ain-i-Akbari has also given a list of 51 first rate as well as minor poets who arrived in India from Persia and attached themselves to the court of the Emperor. The influx of Persian literati into India, especially of poets, did not cease even after the time of Akbar. Besides versifiers like 'Urfi, Naziri, Ghazali of Mashhad, Qasim-i-Kahi, Thanai-i-Mashhadi, Mayli, Hayati-i-Gilani, Talib-i-Isfahani, Qasim-i-Arsalan and numerous others, there also came, during and after Jahangir's reign, poets, like Talib-i-Amuli, Abu Talib Kalim, Qudsi-i-Mashhadi, Mulla Tughra, Ali Quli Salim, Mir Ilahi of Hamdan, Salik-i-Qazwini, Sattar of Tabriz, Salik of Yazd and many others. Most of these came for settling down permanently in India, and, ultimately, died in India. All of these wrote in pure Persian,

in the same idiom of thought and expression with which they were familiar since their birth.¹ Despite all this, a very narrow view has been taken by certain Iranian biographers, of modern times, of Persian poetry and literature produced during the Mughal period. They are averse to it to a degree which, on close examination, denotes nothing but the working

-
1. Mirza Ghalib pays tribute to poets like Urfi, Kalim, Qudsi, Saib, Asir and Ali Hazin and considers them as masters of language and idiom. About Urfi he writes:

"جلالے طباطبائی رحمۃ اللہ علیہ نے شیدائے ہندی کو ایک رقعہ لکھا۔ عبارت اسوقت یاد نہیں آتی۔ مگر یہ مضمون اسکا ہے کہ ایک دن مولانا عرفی علیہ الرحمۃ اور ابوالفضل مین مباحثہ ہوا۔ شیخ نے اعراض سے کہا کہ ہم نے تحقیق کو بہ سرحد افراط پہنچا دیا اور فارس میں خوب کمال پیدا کیا۔ عرفی نے کہا اسکو کیا کرو گے کہ ہم نے جب سے ہوں سنبھالا ہے گھر کے بڈھوں سے اور بڑھئیوں سے جو بات سنی فارسی میں سنی۔

شیخ گفت "ما فارسی از انوری و خاقانی فراگرفته ایم و شما از پیرزالان آموختہ اید"

عرفی فرمود "انوری و خاقانی نیز از پیر زبان آموختہ باشند۔"

On another occasion Ghalib gives the following opinion about Saib, Kalim, Asir and Ali Hazin, whom he regards as standard linguists.

"جب تک قد مایا متاخرین میں مثل صائب و کلیم و اسیر و حزین کے کلام میں کوئی لفظ یا ترکیب نہیں دیکھ لیتا اس کو نظم اور نثر میں نہیں لکھتا۔"

Ghalib includes Qudsi also in the same category:

"شیدائے ہندی سیکروی نے حاجی محمد جان قدسی علیہ الرحمۃ کے ایک شعر پر اعتراض کیا ہے۔ مرزا جلالے طباطبائی علیہ الرحمۃ نے شیداکو خط لکھا ہے ۰۰۰۰ خلاصہ مضمون خط یہ کہ یہ تو صاحب زبان ہے نہ زبان دان ہے۔ یعنی مقلد اور کاسہ لیس اہل ایران ہے۔ حاجی محمد جان کے کلام کو سند پکڑ۔ تجھ کو سن کر کہا ہے کہ اس سے لڑ"

(Adabi Khutut-i-Ghalib, ed. Askari pp. 71-2, 83-4 and 114).

of their prejudiced mind. Riḍā Qulī Khān¹ severely criticises both Urḡī and Fayḍī in the following words. Regarding verses of the former, who may, quite rightly, be called as one of the greatest Persian poets of later times, he writes:

"دیوان عرفی مکرر به نظر رسیده - سیاق اشعار پسندیده امالی این عهد نیست"
About Fayḍī he thus states:²

"کلفتی بی حاصل کشیده"

And about the style of Ṣāib's poetry he thus comments:³

"با آنکه صد هزار بیت دیوان دارد در طریق شاعری طرز غریب داشته که
اکنون پسندیده نیست"

Similarly Abū Ṭalīb Kalīm has also been criticized by another modern writer, Luṭf-ʿAlī Khān in his Ātashkadah in the following way:

"از هر قسم شعر دارد لیکن شعره که قابل باشد نه دارد"

As is quite apparent, such disapprobatory remarks are vague and indefinite, and lack what is known as critical explanation of the causes of certain drawbacks.

Another charge which is generally levelled against

1. Majmā-ul-Fuṣahā (A.H.1295) Tehran ed., II, p.24

2. Majmā-ul-Fuṣahā (A.H.1295) Tehran ed., II, p.26

3. Ibid p.24.

Persian poetry of later times, produced in India, is that it is full of far-fetched metaphors, queer expressions and strange phrases, but it must not be forgotten that it was produced, mostly, by those poets of Persian descent who had come to India at a matured stage of their lives- thus being fully equipped with the knowledge of their language, idioms and phrases. Mughal poetry, however, is a thing of beauty. Its historical as well as aesthetic value cannot be denied. The tenth and the eleventh centuries of the Hijrā era are prominent in the history of Indo-Persian language and literature mainly because of the Mughal poetry. During this span of time, the contemporary Persia failed to bring forward poets of high order, excepting only one or two.

Hājī Muhammad Jān, poetically named Qudsi, of Mashhad has been made, for the first time, a subject of study as a distinguished exponent of the above school of poetry and an attempt has been made to give a detailed and connected sketch of his biography and accomplishments. Late Prof. E.G. Browne¹ has included him among the class of second rate poets of Persia, but how far the learned scholar is correct in his opinion is a controversial point. The subsequent pages are an attempt to judge and determine the position of Qudsi's art, without the least application of prejudice or partiality.

1. 'A History of Persian Literature in modern times'. (A.D. 1500-1924) p.251.

CHAPTER II

LIFE IN PERSIA

Qudsī occupies a very important position among those poets of Persian descent who came to India from Iran during the first half of the 17th century. He has made a valuable contribution to Persian poetry in general and to Indo-Persian literature in particular. Almost all the memoirs of Persian poets, written during his life time as well as after his death, from 17th century down to this day, contain notices of his life and works and give him a place of honour among poets of his time. He is held by the authors of such memoirs in great esteem and distinction and is occasionally graced with the dignified title of Malik-ush-Shuārā which, in fact, he never acquired as will be discussed in a later chapter.¹

NAME. Despite the importance attached to Qudsī as a poet it is regrettable that the information about him, provided by most of the memoirs (and even by some historical works), is not only meagre and limited but also often conflicting. There exists controversy even with regard to Qudsī's name. At the very outset we are faced with the question whether his name was Muḥammad Jān or Muḥammad Khān. In numerous works such as Kalimāt-ush-Shuārā,² Yad-i-Baydā,³ Khizāna-i-Āmirah,⁴

1. See Chapter III

2. Fol.41^a

3. P.162

4. Fol.265^a

Tadhkira-i-Takmilat-ush-Shu'arā,¹ Khulāṣat-ul-Kalām,² Sham-i-Anjuman³ and Maāthir-ul-Umarā,⁴ Qudsi's name has been mentioned as Muḥammad Khān. Even a later work of research like the Encyclopaedia of Islam call him with the same name.⁵ However, the most authentic judgement regarding Qudsi's name has been furnished by Abū Ṭalīb Kalīm, the poet-laureate of Shāhjahān and, apparently, a close associate and comrade of Qudsi. In one of the lines of his celebrated threnody, composed on Qudsi's death, Kalīm has, in the first hemistich, poetically, played upon the word 'Jān' and if we compare this 'Jān' with 'Muḥammad Jān' occurring in the second hemistich we get Qudsi's real and proper name. The line referred to above runs as follows:⁶

جان معنی به تن شعراروی آمد * ز آسمان نامی ازان روی محمد جان شد

This name which is obviously correct, has been further

-
1. P.469
 2. Vol. iii, fol.172
 3. P.390
 4. Vol. 1, p.407
 5. Vide vol. ii, p.1105
 6. Vide Kulliyat-i-Kalīm, fol. nil, personal Ms. copy of Aghā Saīd Nafīsī; See also Dīwān of Qaṣidāns, Ghazaliyāt, Mathnawiyāt, and Muqattaāt of Abū Ṭalīb Kalīm, edited by Bayḍāl (printed at the Haydari Press, Iran). See also Tadhkira-i-Shu'arā-i-Maḍīah, in which this elegy has been referred to and noted down under the account of Kalīm.

verified by an overwhelming majority of both contemporary as well as later sources. Among contemporary evidences special mention may be made of Taqī Aḥādī's 'Ārafāt,¹ 'Abd-un-Nabī's Maykhānah,² and of Nazm-i-Guzīdah,³ by Hājī Mullā Muḥammad Ṣādiq, poetically named Nāẓim of Tabrīz. Even a fairly large number of later sources, mention Qudṣī's name as being Muḥammad Jān.⁴ In the light of these evidences it can be claimed with certainty that Qudṣī's real name was Muḥammad Jān.⁵

BIRTH Due to lack of information it is difficult to give a precise date of Qudṣī's birth. However, certain clues guide us in this direction. The first of these, is a Tarkīb Band of Qudṣī himself in which occurs the following couplet.⁶

بنجه قسمت به دوزم گریان می کشد * از خراسان جانب کابل پس از پنجاه سال

It is evident from the above that at the time of writing the said Tarkīb Band, which he seems to have composed

-
1. Vide vol. ii, fol.596
 2. Fol.376^b
 3. Fol.179^b
 4. Vide Naṣṣabādī: fol.133^a; as well as Tehran edition of the same pp.166, 225 and 287; Mirat-ul-Khayāl, fol.24^b; Sarw-i-Āzād fol.29^b; Riyāḍ-ush-Shu'arā, fol.359^a; Safīnah, p.257; Fānūs-i-Khayāl, fol.76^a; Makḥzan-ul-Gharāib fol.338; Hame Shah Bahar, fol.70; Khulaṣah, fol.147, and other works.
 5. See also Ibn-i-Yusuf Shirazi: cat. of the Persian 'ss. in the Library of Majlis-i-Shura-i-Millī, vol. iii, p.381.
 6. Diwan-i-Qudṣī, Aligarh Ms. fol.76^a.

at the time of his departure for India,¹ Qudṣī had already attained a minimum age of fifty. If we assume that immediately after writing this poem he left for India, which according to Muḥammad Ṣālih Zambū, the author of *Amal-i-Ṣālih*, was in the fifth year of Shāhjahān's reign, viz A.H.1041,² we can approximately place the date of Qudṣī's birth in the vicinity of, and in any case not later than, A.H.986 because from the following two quatrains of Qudṣī himself, we find that he had lived at least for seventy years. The first quatrain bearing this idea goes in the following manner.³

این عمر که از لطف خدا داد رسید * چون برق گزشت زانکه چون باد رسید
عقلی که به عمر خود ترا حاصل شد * اینست که شصت رفت و هفتاد رسید

The other quatrain runs thus:⁴

آزاد بنود عمرو آزاد گزشت * چون آب روان رسید و چون باد گزشت
با این همه بارغم که بردوشانی بود * از بخت به یک هفته ز هفتاد گزشت

1. There are several specific references in this poem which testify to this fact.

2. Vide *Amal-i-Ṣālih*, iii, p.398, where it is stated as follows:

در سال پنجم خلوص مبارک موافق سال هزار و چهل و یک هجری از وطن احرام صواف

3. Vide *Dīwān-i-Qudṣī*, Rampur Ms. No.3434 p.624

4. Ibid, p.602.

If these two statements are to be corroborated with the date of Qudsi's death, which has been fixed up by contemporary Abu Talib Kalim to have occurred in the year A.H.1056,¹ we may again conclusively declared that Qudsi ~~would~~ ^{may} have been borne in A.H.985-6, or between the years A.H.983 and 986, because the reference of fifty years and seventy years, occurring in the Tarkib Band and the quatrains, respectively, cannot exactly stand for the age of fifty and seventy. It is just probable that at the time of composing the above mentioned Tarkib Band and entertaining a strong liking to come to India (A.H.1041) he might have been even more than fifty years of age.² At the same time it is quite possible that even after the ripe ~~of~~ age of seventy³ he might have lived for a couple of years more.

Birth Place. It is universally accepted that Mashhad was Qudsi's birth place. Above all, we have, in this connection the testimony of two contemporary writers, 'Abd-un-Nabi and Hāji Mullā Muhammad Sādiq, authors of the Maykhānah,⁴ and Nazm-i-Guzidah,⁵ respectively, who seem to have possessed

-
1. For further details about Qudsi's death see chapter III
 2. As a matter of fact this period can range from 51 to 60 but in no case beyond it. Yet, this supposition is not very strong because the term 'از پنجاه سال' apparently suggests the period of a couple of years, i.e. between 51 and 55.
 3. As expressed by Qudsi in the quatrains
 4. Vide Aligarh Ms. fol.376b
 5. Vide Aligarh Ms. No.920/3 fol.179b.

first hand knowledge about the poet and were, therefore, competent to speak about him with considerable authority.

PARENTAGE, ANCESTRY AND EDUCATION Nothing is known about the poet's parentage and ancestry. It apparently seems that Mashhad where he was born was his ancestral home and that his other close relatives also lived there as one might presume from a statement by Tāhīr Naṣrābādī regarding one Mullā Khwājā Ālī, a nephew of Qudṣī, who was a Pīsh-Namāz in Mashhad and was celebrated for his piety and proficiency in religious subjects.¹

Even on Qudṣī's early education no information is, unfortunately, available. Further, we are absolutely ignorant of his teachers and the subjects in which he received instruction. Even an authentic authority such as that of the Maykhānah fails to guide us in this respect.² However, judging from Qudṣī's own poetry it may be said that the poet was well-versed in the sciences known during his time and that he had also made a careful study of Arabic language and literature.

STAY AT MASHHAD Qudṣī spent the major portion of his life at Mashhad where, according to Ābd-un-Nabī,³ he was occupied in

1. Vide Naṣrābādī, p.166

2. The author of Baḡm-i-Tīmūriya (p.178) writes that Qudṣī acquired his education at Macca and Madīna and thence he came to India, but this view has not been supported by a single contemporary or later authority. Further, the learned author has not mentioned his source of information, rendering his statement all the more weaker.

3. Maykhānah, fol.376b.

the profession of a grocer. Taqī Auḥādī-goes a little further to call him the head of grocers.¹ It appears that he was not only the head of grocers,² but was actually the head of the grocers' ward,³ which existed in Persian Muslim society in those days, and whose head, the most honourable and the most trustworthy member was known as 'Kadkhodā'.⁴

Shah-~~z~~-Nawāz Khān and Husayn Qulī Khān, the authors of Mirat-i-Āftāb Numā and Nishtar-i-Ishq are apparently wrong to have given a different interpretation of the term 'بقال' and mentioned Qudsī as a chemist.⁵

As fār the poet, he expressly mentions himself to be Khizānah-dār (treasurer or accounts keeper) of the shrine

1. Ārafāt, ii, fowl.596

2. Taqī Auḥādī has used the term 'کدخدائی بقالان' which literally means a chief or head of grocers.

3. Even Taqī Auḥādī's poetic remark about Qudsī beginning 'اگر خدائی محله سخن قدس است' suggests this idea.

4. Lambton: 'Islamic Society in Persia',
p.10-11

5. The actual word used by these two memoir-writers is 'Attār' (see Mirat-i-Āftāb Numā, p.298 and Nishtar-i-Ishq, p.1074).

of Imām 'Alī Ridā,¹ situated at Mashhad. In one of the numerous panegyrics addressed to the Imām Qudsī has referred to this point in the following couplet.

خزانه دارى من اسم با مسعى نيست * وگرنه چون خجل ام از رخ صفا روکبار

The only explanation which can be put forward about these two apparently diverse opinions is that, most probably side by side his profession of a grocer, Qudsī was also attached to the holy shrine of Hadrat Imām 'Alī Ridā in the capacity of an honorary Khizānah-dār. While referring to Taqī Auhādī's statement Khān-i-Ārzū and Mīr 'Ala-ud-Daula Ashraf 'Alī Khan,

1. Hadrat Imām 'Alī Al Ridā, eighth in the order of Imamate and the son of the seventh Imām, Hadrat Mūsā, was born, according to the authority of Zīnat-ul-Majālis, on 11th of Dhul-Hijjah, in the year A.H.153, or on 11th Rabi' II of the same year, or in A.H.143, at Madīna. On account of and under some political pressure he was invited by Māmūn, the Abbāsīd caliph, while the latter was at Marw, to come to Khurāsān from Baghdad for being constituted as heir presumptive to the Caliphate, because 'he was the wisest and the most pious of all the descendents of Hadrat 'Alī.' Māmūn later proclaimed, Imām 'Alī to be heir-apparent after him, adopted green uniform of the 'Alids instead of the black one of the Abbāsīds, and married his two daughters to Imām 'Alī and his son Muhammad. After some time, while Māmūn was at Tūs in order to spend some time by the tomb of his father, Hārūn-al-Rashīd, Imām 'Alī died in the same city on account of Surfeit of grapes, towards the end of Safar, A.H.203. Māmūn was very much grieved at his ultimately and unexpected death and he was buried close to the tomb of Hārūn-al-Rashīd. It is generally believed by Shī'a writers that he was poisoned at the instigation of the Caliph, Māmūn (Balāmī's translation of the Tārīkh-i-Tabarī, Nawal Kishore, Edition, iv. pp.773-32).
2. Dīwān-i-Qudsī Aligarh Ms. fol. 26a.

in their *Majma-un-Nafais*¹ and *Tadhkirat-ush-Shuara*,² respectively, also speak of this internal evidence and, consequently, also establish Qudsi's association with the holy Raudah. The authors of *Nishtar-i-Ishq* and *Khulasat-ul-Kalam* have also quoted Taqi Auhadi's version but the conclusions they seem to have drawn, do not appear to be sound. The author of *Nishtar-i-Ishq* writes:³

"تقی اوحدی در تذکره خود آورده که ملا بالفعل کدخدائی بقلان مشهد است - یعنی آغاز حال دوکان عطاری داشت - بعد از حصول زیارت از ره نمونی بخت بیدار به صرف هندوستان خرامید -"

Taqi Auhadi's statement does not carry any such reference that in the early part of his career Qudsi had been busy in the occupation of grocery and thereafter he went to perform pilgrimage to holy places and then he migrated to India. Writing in the vicinity of A.H.1024 he simply states:

"محمد جان قدسی بالفعل در مشهد مقدس رضویه کدخدای بقلان است -"

The explanation given in this connection by the author

of *Khulasat-ul-Kalam* is equally weak. He writes:⁴

"تقی اوحدی در تذکره خود آورده که قدسی یکی از کدخدایان بقلان مشهد است می تواند بود که در اوائل حال کدخدائی بقلان کرده او آخر بعد کسب کمال آن نموده باشد -"

It is not at all known as to when Qudsi started the said profession and when gave it up. Similarly, no opinion can be

1. *Dīwān-i-Qudsi* Aligarh fol.

2. vide p.313

3. Vide Rampur Ms. p.1074

4. Vide Bankipur Ms. fol.172

formed whether he actually abandoned it.

It is, however, certain that Qudsi was closely associated with the sacred shrine of Hadrat Imam Ali Ridā, and that this relationship was long in existence, perhaps from the very early years of his life, as is evident from the undermentioned line of a panegyric, which Qudsi has composed in praise of the Imam.¹

شم آیدم که از پس چل ساله مدح تو * در چار حدثنائی ملوکم شود شعار

From another couplet of a similar Qasidah the same truth is again inferred. Invoking the Imam, his spiritual guide, Qudsi implores:²

می پسندی که پس از خدمت چندین ساله * بر در خلق کنم حال دل خود اظهار

A perusal of the eulogiums and those devotional poems, which have as their central themes the glorification of the Imam will at once reveal how greatly and sincerely Qudsi was devoted to him. Words of praise and eulogy flow out of his pen not as words of a casual pilgrim but as that of a true and honest devotee. It is, then, fully explained as to why he was inspired to choose for himself the dignified poetic name of Qudsi. He has written a number of Panegyrics with a purely

1. See Diwān-i-Qudsi, Rampur Ms. No. 3484, p. 143

2. Diwān-i-Qudsi, Aligarh Ms. fol. 29a.

religious fervour and with a view to glorify the sacred memory of this saint¹ of whose exalted shrine he proudly professed to be the meanest attendant. Some of the selected verses of his Qasidas showing his spiritual attachment and warmth of

1. Jami, the great mystic poet of Persia has paid a glowing tribute to the venerable Imam in the following lines:

سلام علی آل صه و یسین * سلام علی آل خیر النبیین
 سلام علی روضه حل فیها * امام ییاهی به الملك والدین
 امام بحق شاه مطلق که آمد * حریم دراز قبله گاه سلاطین
 سرکاخ عرفان گل شاخ احسان * در دراز امکان مه بر تمکین
 علی ابن موسی الرضا کز خدای * رضا شد لقب چون رضا بود آئین
 ز فضل و شرف بینی ار اجهانی * اگر نبود تیره چشم جهان بین
 پیش عسرو بند حوران حنت * عیار دیار به گیسوی مشکین
 اگر خواهی آری به کف دامن او * برو دامن از هر چه جزاوست برجین
 چو حامی جشد لذت تیغ مهر * چه عم گرمخالف کشد خنجر کین

devotion with venerable Imam, are quoted below:¹

فروع شمع شبستان باقر و عاق * غریب خاک خراسان علی بن موسی
جو حرف زینت ابن روضه سرکنم اول * جو کلک مری به شویم زبان به آب طلا
زهر طرف ملکه تاج نور بر تارک * به خدمت تو جو شمع ایستاده بر سرپا

In another *Qasīdah*, the poet praises his Lord in this way:²

بوی بهار شرف رنگ گل اعتبار * موج محیط کرم گوهر در سدا
مظر لطف اله شاه خراسان که هست * شمع حریم نبی نور دل مرتضا
در جنت باد صبح چون نفس بر اثر * در حرمت آفتاب آئینه بی صفا
گوهر مدحی که من در حرمت ریختم * دست بدستان برند تا حرم کبریا
بی مدد این و آن کار مرا ساز کن * ز آنکه مرا جز تو نیست بر در کس التجا

The following lines taken from another *Qasīdah*³ express the same idea:

شهید خاک خراسان امیر خصه دین * علی موسی جعفر شفیع روز حساب
ستم به عهد تو گردیده آن چنان نایاب * کز احتیاط کتان را رفو کند مهتاب
شهاب جانب قدسی نظر دریغ مدار * که هست روی دل جانب نواز همه باب

1. *Diwān-i-Qudsī* Aligarh Ms. fol.8a.

2. *Ibid* fol. 4a-b

3. *Ibid* fol.9a

In another panegyric, addressed to the Imām Qudṣī writes:¹

آب روئے همه عالم علی بن موسی * که از و خاک خراسان شده فردوس خباب
فوتی داده ضعیفان جهان را عدلت * که ز کنجشک نباید عجب آهنگ عتاب
آسمان بردگمان خشت درت را خورشید * هم چو بلقیس که آئینه عطر کرد به آب

Qudṣī again praises his spiritual Lord in another Qaṣīdah, in the following manner:²

زبور شاهد ایمان علی بن موسی * آنکه بی دوستی شاید دین نازیباست
مهر و مه را نه بودی مدد را تو نور * به نگاه دگر دیده عینک بیناست
آنچه در دور به موسی به طلب نمودند * بی طلب در نظر مرقد تو جلوه نماست
در صواف تونه دام بسرازا با خبری * بسکه کیفیت از باده شوق رساست
هست مدح تو مرا جایزه مدح تو بس * پیا من قیمت کالا ز عزیز کلاست
پاز اندازه برون رفت همان به قدسی * که بر آم به هادست که هنگام دعاست
کیستم من که ثنا گویم و مدحی خوانم * آنکه جبریل ثنا گوید و مداح خداست

The following verses of another Qaṣīdah have the same subject matter.³

نقد شه مردان علی موسی جعفر * کز مدحت او نقد سخن پاک عیار است
سلطان خراسان که گه عری سپاهش * چون خانه زین روی زمین پرز سوار است
مرغان بهشتی به الم کارند ارند * غم را به دل خلق درین روضه چه کار است
مداحی خدام درت کار بزرگست * من کیستم و گفته من درجه شمار است

1. Dīwān-i-Qudṣī, Aligarh Ms. fol. 11b

2. Ibid ff. 13b, 14a and 14b

3. Ibid ff. 15b, 16a and 16b.

وردم به جزازنکه مدح تو مبادا * چند آنکه زبان قلم نکته گزاراست

And the following verses of another Qaṣīdah¹ are final words in this connection:

روشنترک بیان کنم احوال خویش را * مداح نور دیده موسی جعفر
سلطان شرف و غرب که هر شب میسراست * از برکت طواف در حاکم
تا آستان کعبه بود سجده گاه خلق * یارب جدا مباد ازین آستان سرم

In short, such references in his Qaṣīdahs as well as other poems are many which decisively prove Qudsi to have been one of the closest attendants of the sacred Raudah of Hadrat Imam Ali Rida. It will be discussed later, how greatly were Qudsi's life and character influenced by this holy association.

QUDSI'S SACRED PILGRIMAGE TO THE HOLY PLACES

All the sources unanimously agree upon Qudsi's pilgrimage to the holy places of Macca and Madina.² He probably, visited other sacred places also such as Najaf and Karbalā, but for this no definite information is available except Qudsi's own verses expressing his keen desire and intention to visit them. These verses are:³

آرزوی رفتن نیست ازین آستان * در بودم هم مباد جز بخف و کربلا
از در شاه رضا می بندم احرام نجف * که توان رفتن ازین در جزیه آن عالیجناب
زین تمنای که من دام زمشهد تا نجف * آسمان در آسمان بینی دعای مستجاب

1. Diwān-i-Qudsi, Kh Aligarh Ms. ff.48b and 49b

2. It is also proved internally by rational evidences

3. Diwān-i-Qudsi, Aligarh Ms. fol.10a.

Any way, Qudṣī seems to have journeyed to Macca and Madīnā to perform Haj in the prime of his youth. Apart from the remarks of some of the authors such as Shēr Khān Lodī,¹ Muhammad Qudrat-Ullah² and 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān Khalīl,³ Qudṣī has himself, (while speaking about his journey which he had to make for Herat for a short period of two months) made a reference about his pilgrimage to the holy places of Yathrab (Madīnā) and Baṭhā (Macca), in the following couplet of a Qaṣīdah,⁴ from which it may be derived that he performed the sacred pilgrimage in his youth.⁵ He writes thus:

بہم رسید بن از عوف یثرب و بصرہ * بہ عراق سن و دو سالم سرد و ماہ سفر

It is evident from the above that after returning from Macca and Madīna and having performed Haj, Qudṣī stayed at Mashhad for a long period of thirty-two years. It may be further pointed out that Qudṣī came to India in A.H.1041.⁶ His stay of thirty-two years at his native place, after the performance of Haj, would naturally mean that the sacred pilgrimage must have taken place sometime before and never after A.H.1010. It has already been discussed and proved on some previous occasion that in all probability, Qudṣī was born in or in the vicinity of A.H.986. However, if we presume A.H.986 the definite year of his birth, we may say that Qudṣī had

1. Mirat-ul-Khayāl, fol.24b

2. Natā'ij-ul-Afkār, p.443

3. Khulāṣatul-Kalām fol.172

4. Dīwān-i-Qudṣī, Aligarh Ms. fol.35b

5. See also Rieu: British Museum cat. ii, p.684

6. Or in A.H. 1042, as will be discussed later.

performed his Haj in A.H.1009, at the age of 23 or even earlier.

An incorrect and misleading information has been associated with Qudsi's holy journey to Macca and Madīnā by some authors who assert that the poet proceeded towards India after performing this religious duty.¹ But in face of the remark of the poet himself as expressed in the above couplet such statements, obviously, carry no weight and it is certain that after performing Haj Qudsi first came back to his native country, stayed there for a very long period of time and thence he proceeded to India. 'Abd-un-Nabī in his Maykhānah makes the following decisive statement in this connection:²

"..... نام او محمد جان و تخلص قدسی است به تحقیق پیوسته که آن گرامی سخنور صاحب امتیاز از روی تشوق و نیاز عازم سفر حجاز شده بعد از سعادت دریافت زیارات حرمین و پس از صواف مقامات شرفین به وطن خود بخود نموده الحال در مسکن خود به آسائش می گزارد "

1. Vide Shēr Khān Lodī: *Mirāt-ul-Khayāl*, fol.24^b; Ahmād Ali Hashimī; *Makhzan-ul-Gharāib*, fol.338-9; Muḥammad Qudrat-ullāh, *Nataij-ul-Afkār*, p.443; Ḥusayn Qulī Khān; *Nishtar-i-Ishq*, p.1074; Azād Bilgrāmī; *Yad-i-Baydā*, p.162 (also quoted by the cataloguer of Bankipur Library, vol. iii, p.75), *Khizāna-i-Amīrah*, fol.265^a and *Sarw-i-Azād*, fol.29^b; Sprenger; cat. of the Library of the Kings of Awadh (Persian poetry) p.536; Ibn-i-Yusuf Shirazi: cat. of Persian Mss. in the Library of Majlis-i-Shura-i-Milli, vol.iii, p.381.

2. See fol.376^b; as well as Lahore edition of the same p.539.

QUDSĪ'S JOURNEY TO HERAT. No reference about Qudsī's journey to Herat is to be found in any of the biographical works, but on making enquiry into his poetical works we find that he had made a trip to Herat also at an advanced stage of his life. Curiously enough this journey (about which a casual reference has just been made while discussing his sacred pilgrimage to Macca and Madīna) falls in complete contrast with his journey to Yathrab and Bathā. While the former was undertaken in his youth, with a purely religious and devotional enthusiasm, the latter was, apparently, made while the poet was considerably old, and had some material end to fulfill. From a Qasīdah¹ composed on the death of his eldest son Muḥammad Bāqir it is revealed that Qudsī had to go to Herat for a period of two months.² The trip was probably made on the invitation of the Governor of that place in connection with the compilation of Qudsī's poetical works.³ The fact that it was no other place

1. Beginning: هنریس است چه حاجت مرا به قید دگر..... الخ
(Kulliyāt, Alīcarh Ms. fol. 32a)

2. بهم رسید پس از صوف یثرب و بصحا * به عراق سی و دو سال سرد و ماهه سفر

or, دگر برون نه روم از مقام خود که مرا * هزار سال غم افزود در دو ماهه سفر

3. It can be stated on the authority of Qudsī himself who gives, in a Qasīdah (Beginning: گرد رنگم کشائی..... الخ in fol. 30b) a detailed account of his meeting with the Governor of Mashhad whom he addresses as 'صاحب من' and who handed over to him the letter of the Governor of Herat, asking Qudsī to submit a connected and compiled copy of his poetical works. From other verses it comes to light that by the time of composing this Qasīdah, the poet had attained an old age and it was apparently the period when he was cherishing a strong desire

except Herat has been verified from other sources such as the following verses of a Tarkīb Band¹ which is an elegy on the death of his son.

اوسے فردوس اعلیٰ رفت و من سے ہرات * من بیابان قطع کردم کرد او قطع حیات
او جو گلبرگ طری در خاک مشہد دادہ جان * در بیابان ہرات افتادہ من چون خاورخس

However, this journey proved extremely catastrophic for Qudsi, because during his absence from Mashhad the tragic death of his twenty years old son took place,² and unfortunately he could not get a chance even to say parting words to his dying son at his death-bed.³ Qudsi has devoted some very fine verses

(In continuation of the preceding page)

to go to any foreign land, most probably India, where he could try his luck for better prospects in life. For instance, the following verses clearly reveal his emotions:

ترک از رفتن ایران نہ دہد من سفید * صبح را علت پیرو نہ کند منع سفر
می گیریم زوضن گرچہ مرا جاگہ هست * چہ کند گر نہ جہد زآتش سوزندہ شرر
چند روز از حد آباد و صن دور شوم * در سفر خواہ بتر حال و خواہی بہتر

The fact that the Governor of Herat had written to the Governor of Mashhad (named Manuchihar Khan) to ask Qudsi to send him (i.e. Governor of Herat) his diwan and that the latter had directed Qudsi to do that are both expressed in the following couplet of Qudsi.

نسخہ نظم من از صاحب من خواستہ بود * مسند آراے ہری خسرو عالی منظر
It is difficult to give the exact date of his travel to Herat but it appears from the textual source that the same might have taken place a couple of years before his departure for India.

1. Beginning: خاک اگر بر سر بود امروز دارد آن محل * جزو استعداد ما را خاک دارد در بغل
(Diwan-i-Qudsi Aligarh Ms. fol. 78a, 81a)
2. Cf: بہ سفر رفتم و باز آمدم آن ماہ نہ بود * چہ سفر بود کہ سرمایہ تلف شد با سود
(Diwan-i-Qudsi, Rampur Ms. no. 3484, p. 282)
3. Cf: بہر رجعت کاس رخمت بیشتر می یافتم * تا نگاہ واپسینی از تو در می یافتم
(Diwan-i-Qudsi Aligarh Ms. fol. 81a)

in his sad memory, fully expressing the deep agony of his heart. We shall discuss such elegiac poems later at some greater length.

QUDSĪ'S RELATION WITH SHĀH 'ABBĀS I. It is very sad that for poet's life and career in Persia little or nothing has been said by biographers. Even some very significant facts are ignored and neglected, such as poet's relation with Shāh 'Abbās the great (A.H. 995-1038/1585-1628) in whose praise Qudsī has written a fine Tarkīb Band.¹ It is very difficult to determine the nature and scope of this relation² because the occasion of its composition and date are not known. It is probable that the poem under discussion, might have been composed at the time of the visit of Shāh Abbās to Khurāsān³ as is suggested by the following couplet:

می‌زند نوسن اقبال ترا بوسه بیانی * گر رسد خاک خراسان به فلک دارد جای

1. Perhaps besides this no such other poem in praise of the aforesaid monarch exists. It, however, begins thus:

لله الحمد که گیتی به حوشی کرد آهنگ * روی ایام شد از بادیه عشرت گلرنگ

The authorship of this eulogy is ascertained by the following couplet in which occurs the pen-name of the poet:

قدس از خاک درت دیده جو روشن سازد * چشم حاسد شود از آب سیه چشمه قبر

2. Even contemporary Iskandar Munshī in his 'Ālam Āra-i-'Abbāsī has made no mention of Qudsī or any kind of his relation with Shāh 'Abbās.
3. According to the authority of 'Ālam-Āra-i-'Abbāsī Shāh 'Abbās visited Khurāsān as well as Mashhad several times. The most significant visit was when he waged a successful war against the Ūzbeks, gained a well deserved victory and captured Khurāsān in A.H. 1006-7. Soon after this conquest, he once again went to Khurāsān in the 13th year of his reign

(Contd. on next page).

It is also probable that the poet might have presented or sent this laudatory poem to the Shāh as a token of homage or reverence directed to his sovereign.

QUDSĪ'S RELATION WITH THE GOVERNORS OF MASHHAD AND HERAT.

Qudsī enjoyed, in some way or the other, favours from some ruling dignitaries of his day. The first of these was Qarchughāī (or Qarchuqāī) Khān, Governor of Mashhad. He was originally a member of a Christian tribe of Erivan. In his early years, in the turmoil that took place in that country,

(In continuation of the preceding page)

(A.H.1007-8) and visited Mashhad also and paid his homage at the shrine of Imām 'Alī Ridā. Some of the lines of the panegyric under discussion seem to bear references about some victorious campaign of the Shāh. They tell of the poet's feelings of rejoicings that must have been the genuine result of that eminent victory. Those verses are as follows:

چه نشاط است در ایام که از شوق صرب *	ناخن چیده زند و خمه برابریشم چنگ *
بهریک رنگی شیر علم لشکر کیست *	که خود از پوست برون آمده چون مار پلنگ *
از سمنند که فلک چلوس (?) طاوس آموخت *	گربه پهلونه زند کام دگر چون خر چنگ *
سپه کیست که در هر شب راکب چرخ *	کشد از کاهکشان توسن گردون را تنگ *
شاه عباس که تیغ زاحل جان گیرد *	کمترین بنده در کله او بام زقاقان گیرد *
فتح و نصرت به تونازنده ازانند که هست *	علمت ملکستان و حشمت قلعه کشای *
هست روشن ظفرت بر همه کس چو خورشید *	که به یک حمله ات آفاق مسخر گردد *
ظفر از رایت اقبال تو منصور شود *	پائی بر هر چه نهی چشمه کوثر گردد *
ای گویا تو به اقبال رسانیده مدد *	فتح راسایه چتر تو گل روی سپد *
خسرو دادگرا عرش جنابا شاها *	سایه مرحمت از فرق روی باز مگیر *
تبع خورشید که می بارد از روبرو ظفر *	حجل از شعشعه برق حسامت بادا *
کامرانی به تو مخموس شد از روز ازل *	هر مرادے که بری نام به کامت بادا *
صیت اقبال تو گیرای زمه تا ماهی *	از تو آفاق پر آوازه شاهنشاهی *

he fell into the hands of 'Ubayd, one of the subordinate chiefs of Shāh Abbās. Later he joined the royal service and, by virtue of his capabilities and meritorious services he acquired promotion after promotion, rose from the lowest military rank to the eminent status of commander-in-chief of the whole of the Iranian armies. He also received from the Shāh, the dignified title of Arjumand Khān and soon was entrusted with the governorship of Ādharbāijān. Lastly, he had taken charge of the government of Mashhad and some other districts of Khurāsān. In A.H. 1034, while in Gurjistān, he was assassinated at the hands of one Mūraō, the treacherous chief of the Gurjī tribe. After his death his eldest son Minūchīhr became the governor of Mashhad.¹

Qudsī has composed an elegy² on the death of his patron and benefactor Qarchuqāī Khān and has highly praised his courage, statemanship and other qualities as a first rate military general.

It can be claimed on the basis of the following

1. Ālam Ārā-i-Abbāsī, iii, pp.1025, 1039 and 1040

2. This elegy, appearing in Dīwān-i-Qudsī, Aligarh Ms. on fol.84a is incomplete. The couplet, however, rendering the numerical value of A.H. 1034 as the death year of the valorous Khān, runs thus:

در راه دین شهید چو شد خان قضا نوشت
تاریخ این مقدمه "خان شهید دین"

couplets of the same elegy that Qudṣī did enjoy, in some measure, patronage and favour also from Qarchuqāī Khān's son Minūchīhr¹ whom he refers to, as his patron in this way:²

کردی اگر تو حای تهی کرد گار کرد * تقدیر را بجای تو حاوید حانشین

برشای حمت ندوخته ام دیده هوس * یک گوشه خاصم ز حکر گوشه توبس

In another Qaṣīdah³ in which he describes his access to the court of Minūchīhr (whom he addresses as 'Sāhib') he praises him thus:⁴

ما درین حرف که پیغام سعادت آمد * که طلب کرده ترا عاحب والا گوهر
چون دوائی که خورد خسته موافق به مزاج * این خبر کرد مراد درگ و پیوند اثر
جستم از حای سراسیمه چو کوی از جوگان * جستم از حای چنان گرم که دود از جگر
راست چون قطره نیمان که بر کاز بحر * تابدان سده مراگشت سعادت رهبر
سده یافتم از پایه دولت افزون * سده یافتم از رتبه همت برتر
به اجازت چون درون رفتم و بوسیدم خاک * لرزه رشک فلک داد به آفاق خبر
دو ختم دیده زده شست به زمین اختروار * ناگهان عاطفت گفت که بالا کن سر
چون من ناب که از شیشه برون می آرند * لطف از پیرهن دهشتم آورد بدر
چون دلم داد لبم را به سخن کرد دلیر * گهر این سفت که بی رشته نکونست گهر
چند بی فکر توان بود حویج پروایان * فکر ترتیب سخن کن ز سخن در مآزر

1. See also Rieu (Br. Museum cat. ii., p. 684) who furnishes the following information: "Fol. 47b. Qaṣīdahs, only partially arranged in alphabetical order. They are mostly in praise of the Imāms. One is addressed to Minūchīhr, governor of Mashhad.....".

2. Dīwān-i-Qudṣī, Aligarh Ms. fol. 85b

3. Beginning on fol. 30b Dīwān-i-Qudṣī, Aligarh Ms.

4. Vide Dīwān-i-Qudṣī, Aligarh Ms. ff. 31^b, 32^a.

خیز چون رشته رهی کوچه گوهر سرکن * زانکه رخسار سخن عیب بود بی زبور
 نامه کرد به من لطف در اثنای سخن * که بود خواندن آن علت اشحاذ بمر
 نسخه نظم من از صاحب من خواسته بود * مسند آرای هرن خسرو عالی منظر
 گفتم اے حکم تو بردیده روان گشته چونور * من که باشم که توانم کشم از فرمان سر
 سخن من که پریشان چونبات النعل است * هم جو پروین به کنم جمع چه در یک دفتر
 خامه ام تا برد این نسخه رنگین به بیانی * بایدم ریخت جو خورشید بسی نور نظر
 جوشم روز شود وعده وفا خواهد شد * کشتی مهر پس از صبح نه خواهد لنگر
 هم جو خورشید کتاب هنرم یک ورق است * پرتو اینک گرفتست همان رایکستر
 صاحبان گرز تو جویند مرا عیب نیست * رسم باشد که بجویند بی تو میا گوهر
 مصرع چند دم نقد اجازت فرمائی * که به خدام تو بی نسخه بخوانم از بر
 اے مرا بی رخت افتاده دو عالم ز نظر * مردم چشم مرا خاک رخت نور بمر "الخ-

In another *Qaṣīdah*¹ which he wrote at the time
 of leaving *Mashhad* for India, he again refers to his "Sahib"

1. Beginning on fol.39a, *Diwān-i-Qudsi*, Aligarh Ms.

and consequently deals with his praise in the following lines:¹

گفتا که بے اجازت صاحب سفر کنی * یاداده رخصتی که نداری چنین قرار
گفتم که بے اجازت او نیست این سفر * بے امر او محال بود چرخ را مدار
برورده ام به نعمت او مژداستخوان * بر بسته ام ز خدمت او جنس اعتبار
هر جا که هست چاکر اویم ز جان و دل * هر جا روم به بند گیس دام افتخار
امروز پشت اهل خراسان به او قوی ست * بادشاه مدام شاه خراسان معین و یار

From all such internal indications it is fully evident that Qarchuqāi Khān and his son Minūchihir were his immediate bosses in Iran. Another dignitary from whom the poet seems to have received favours, is Hasan Khān, son of Husayn Khān.² After his father's death in A.H.1026 or 1027 (equal to the 32nd year of the reign of Shāh Abbās) Hasan Khān succeeded his father³ as Amir-ul-Umarā (Beglarbegi) of the whole of

1. Beginning on fol. 40a, 40b.

2. Of the Shāmlū tribe and "Abdillū" clan according to V.Minorsky. (Tadhkirat-ul-Muluk, Gibb Memorial Series, Introductory note, p.14).

3. Husayn Khān was one of the most eminent governors under Shāh Abbās. After the great conquest of Khurāsān in A.H.1006-7, he was appointed as the Amīr-ul-Umarā of Khurāsān. After performing services under his sovereign for a long period of twenty years with great loyalty, as the Bēglarbēgī (a word of Turkish origin, meaning the highest governor and the military chief) of Khurāsān (which had Herat as its capital) he died in A.H.1026- or A.H.1027. Under Shāh Abbās' orders he was buried at Mashhad in the shrine of Hadrat Imām 'Alī Ridā (Ālam-Āra-i-Abbāsī, iii, pp.942, 1084).

Khurāsān. As discussed and quoted previously, Qudsī has referred to Hasan Khān in the following lines of a Qaṣīdah composed after his interview with Minūchīhr Khān, while Hasan Khān had sent a letter to Minūchīhr Khān (whom Qudsī calls 'Sāhib') and had expressed his desire probably to have an interview with the poet and get a compiled copy of his works.¹ Consequently, it was in this context that the poet journeyed to Herat, probably to pay a personal respect to his patron.² The line in question runs thus:³

نسخه نظم من از صاحب من خواسته بود * مسند آراج هری خسرو عالی منظر

The word Khusrāu used for Hasan Khān looks somewhat improper but it appears that the poet has used it only in an exaggerated sense, and it is almost certain that from this expression no one other than Hasan Khān is meant.⁴

1. The heading of this Qaṣīdah appearing in the Dīwān-i-Qudsī, Rampur Ms.No.3485 goes thus:

"در حبش که نواب حسن خان از منوچهر خان شعور دیوان حاجی سلیم بود"
For this Qaṣīdah see also Dīwān-i-Qudsī Aligarh Ms.fol.30b

2. His journey to Herat has already been discussed.

3. Vide Dīwān-i-Qudsī, Aligarh Ms. fol.32a.

4. Cf. Rieu (Br.Museum cat.i, p.684) who speaks of a Qaṣīdah written in Hasan Khān's praise in the following manner:

"Fol.47b. Kasidahs, only partially arranged in alphabetical order. They are mostly in praise of the Imāms. One is addressed to Minūchīhr governor of Mashhad, another to Hasan Khān, Governor of Herat."

DEPARTURE FOR INDIA. Qudṣī was one of those innumerable Persian poets who, though born in Iran, were destined to make their mark in life in India and their poetical aptitudes were exhibited and displayed to the full in a foreign soil. It is a well established fact that Qudṣī, curiously enough, left Persia at a very advanced stage of his life. He was even more than fifty years of age, when this belated migration was undertaken. There are references in his poems which speak of his intense desire to visit such a land where he could go to try his fortune, but causes internal and external deferred it so much that such an enterprise could be undertaken and a long cherished desire be fulfilled only after the ripe age of fifty. The main preventive force which held up the poet's earlier journey to India was, undoubtedly, his long spiritual association with the shrine of Hadrat Imām Āli Ridā. To this effect he gives several explanations. In a Qasīdah addressed to the Imām he writes:¹

ز خدمت تو مرا هست دولتی بر سر * سرم جو دولت ازین آستان مباد جدا
 کجا روم من ازین در که مایه‌های درآب * به آستان تو دارند رو چو قبله نما
 حوروی به سوی تو دارند مردگان در خاک * به زندگی که تواند شد از در تو جدا
 On other occasion he deals with the same idea:²

چشم و دل من بر است بر در خلقم مخوان * بحر نگر دوروان کوه نه خنبد ز جا
 فیل نیم چون کنم یا دز هندوستان * آهوی چن نیستم من که و راه خصا

1. Vide Dīwān-i-Qudṣī, Alifārḥ Ms. fol. 4^a

2. Ibid, fol. 7^b

In the following line of another *Qaṣīdah* the poet again states very emphatically.¹

افکنده بود لغز پایم به خاک هند * دستم گرفت دامن فرزند بوتراب

Another factor was Qudsi's own temperament. He did not appreciate the idea of making any attempt to quit his dear motherland for the sake of material advantages. In this connection he writes:²

نانان جوی هست در ایران قناعت * عزم سفر هند صمغ مایه عار است
ماران سب بندگی خدمت ایشان * بسیار به از خسروی هند و تارا است

Yet, despite all such impediments he could not, finally, resist the temptation of saying good-bye to his country. From those poems which were, obviously, written at the time of setting out for India, the true state of poet's mind is fully expressed. In a *Tarkīb Band* he writes.³

دست غربت می کشد جیب من شوریده حال * می برم از دامن خاک وطن گرد ملال
شادی ایران که کردی ناتوانی را زبون * جوان زن دریا که کردی قطره را بانمال
نامه تکلیف هندی بیشتر زین عمرها * بر سر قاصد معطل بود چون شاخ غزال
بیشتر زین در مذاقم بود یاد هند تلخ * این زمان جز حرف هندی خون نه می آید مقال
پیش من خاک وطن بهتر ز خون غربت است * لبیک با قسمت کنی را نیست با رای جدال
وہ کجا رفت آنکہ (ایکے) از غیرت نمی دادی رهش * از کتابم گر کشودے کس به عزم هند فال
این زمان چون آسمان دامن توقف را حرام * من کہ حذر رکعبہ سعی خود نہ می دیدم حلا
بنجہ قسمت بہ عدد زورم گریبان می کشد * از خراسان جانب کابل پس از پنجاہ سال

1. Vide *Diwān-i-Qudsi*, Aligarh Ms. fol. 7b

2. Ibid, fol. 12b

3. Ibid, fol. 75b

And then he explains in the same continuation.

می کشد دست ضرورت ورزده عاقبت کی کند * ترک فرزند و وطن هرگز برای جاه و مال

The following lines of the *Qasīdah*¹ composed on the occasion of the poet's departure for India, are extremely significant as they not only present a very faithful and vivid picture of those circumstances in which he bade farewell to his home-land, but also depict his firm determination for an enterprise. He thus writes:

شب با خرد مناظره بود در میان * بهر عزیمتی که بدل داده ام قرار
گفتار خرد به من که بغیرت کشیده گیر * زیر جهاز تا شتر موج بهر بار
مرد سفر نه تو کجا این سفر کجا * دیگر مگر پیس کس این حرف زینهار
گفتم که چیست فائده از ماندن و صن * گفتا که نیست بر تو یکی روشن از هزار
پنجاه سال رفته ز عمر تو بیش و کم * من بعد هم بدست قناعت عنان سپار
من گفتم این اراده به خود سر نه کرده ام * با قسمت خدای کسی را چه اختیار
تا قطره از سحاب نه حوید مفارقت * بحر ز تربیت نه کند در شاهکار
تا از مقام خود نگذارد قدم برون * فولاد را لقب نه شود تیغ آبدار
ما گم گفت و گو که ز بیرون صدا رسید * از هم رهان که قافله را شد محلّ بار

But before leaving his home-land, the poet considers

1. Beginning:

با مال روزگارم و از چشم اشکبار * برفرق روزگار گهری کنم نثار
(See *Dīwān-i-Qudsi*, Aligarh Ms. fol. 39a).

it his primary duty to seek permission from his Lord, saying:

گفتم روم ز شاه به گیم احازتم * دنبال کاروان روم آنگاه چون عبار
اینک ستاده ام بدرت بهر رحمتی * با صد جهان خیال و صد عالم اعتذار
باد فراق چون کنم آید به خون * نام وداع چون برم افتد زبان زکار
پاداش جرم رفتن من دوری تو بس * کی سبب ترغیبت ازین داشت روزگار
پیمان کلک من زنتای تو محکم است * یارب میاد رخنه در این عهد استوار
ای گریه وداع میرآبروی من * بنگر مرا غبار در کیست بر عذار
از ساکنان روضه قدسی مکان تو * در زار دره به فاتحه کردم اختصار

Thus, with such feelings of devotion in his heart and probably under some pressing necessities, Qudsi severed his life-long associations not only with the shrine but also with his family and his native place and left Mashhad never to return. In the forthcoming lines it is proposed to cast a surveying eye over his life and career in his native country.

A REVIEW OF QUDSĪ'S LIFE IN PERSIA. Taken as a whole, Qudsi did not pass a happy life in Persia. A careful study of his poetical compositions will at once tell its reader that poet's life there was the story of a soul haunted by misfortune, misery and affliction and that the most conspicuous factor was the absence of an adequate means of subsistence and a proper material support for his livelihood. The key-note of the majority of his Qaṣīdas is the tragic and distressing outburst of his feel-

ings with regard to his poverty. It apparently seems that he could not procure for himself a safe means of living because temperamentally he was opposed to run after material success. It also indicates the fact that, in all probability, he did not receive much support from his Iranian patrons.

Contrarily and curiously enough, writing in the vicinity of A.H.1028, 'Abd-un-Nabī, gives an altogether different picture about his life and career at Mashhad. He writes as follows:¹

"محمد جان الحال در مسکن خود به آسایان می گزارد - از اکثر مسافران فهمیده و سیاحان سنجیده که درین ولا از فراسان به دارالامان آمد و رفت دارند چنان مسوع می شود که وجه همیشه قدسی از مریقالی می گردد و از آن پیشه (۶) کار ثروت و جمعیت بسیار بهم رسانیده - اما اکثر اوقات با حکام مشهود هم نشین می باشد و اغلب ساعات در محالین ایشان با عزت و آبرو فرین"

The above statement stands for the period when Oudsi had already come back after performing Haj. It may be possible that during the period following his return the poet might have lived a well to do life, but, as he often speaks in his poems, (and as we are bound to believe in such repeated sayings), he led, on the whole, a miserable life. It may mean, probably, that the period of material prosperity and economic security was short lived. The following verses of the poet himself throw

1. Vide Maykhānah, fol.376^b (See also Lahore edition of the same p.539).

direct light on adversities in his life and stringent financial conditions. He writes:¹

از پیش رزق مقدر گریه بره حرصم نهد * زهر نوشم دروخن بهتر که در عریث شراب
 زهر عبور خون دل وجه معاش من بر است * باشد ارزانی به این لذت پرستان شهید ناپ
 دوشم به وقت خواب خیال معاش برد * گفتا خرد که ای همه کارت خیال و خواب
 تا کی درین گدا گده جوی بی تو گلان * باشی برای وجه معیشت در اضطراب
 برگه سفر بساز تو هم مرده نیستی * بی ۰۰۰۰ () چند مانع رزق شود حجاب
 or,

از پیش دل افسرده ام افتاده زکار است * بر سینه من داغ گل روی مزار است
 از تیره سرانحای من هیچ می رسید * شد گونه حد روز مرا بر شب تار است
 در بحر غم آن به که کسی دست نه گیرد * صوفان طبع را که میان به زکنار است
 کس یاد ندارد که درین ورطه جوگرداب * سرگشتیم را چه و چه شمار است
 حاصل نشد از نقد سخن وجه معاشم * زانم چه که گویند فلان شعر شعرا است
 or,

درین دیار به زمین که دروخن حوام * ندیده کسی که کشد از عذف جفا گوهر
 شما زیاده طلب نیست گو که فلک * به قدر وجه معاشم کند عطا گوهر

But this was not all. The most distressing factor was that, in general, opportunities were least for the poets to flourish and receive their due share of recognition. Qudsi too was not spared and his poetical talents were not duly rewarded, a fact to which he has himself made numerous references in his poems. The following verses, for instance,

1. See *Dīwān-i-Qudsi*, Aligarh Ms. ff. 10^a, 13^a, 14^b, and 22^a.

deserve mention because they strike at the root of that apathy which was meted out to the poets in general, and to Qudsi in particular. In a complaining tone he bursts out.¹

مرا چه حرم که ننوازم کیچ به و صن * نه من رسد زلب جوئے هیچ نے به نوا
جراست خوار کلام درین بهشت آباد * بود جو یوسف معنی عزیز درهمه جا
کیچ به قیمت من پر نبرد و عمر گزشت * جو گوهرے که شود پر در ته دریا

On an another occasion he expresses similar feelings.²

گرچه جائے نه بود خوشتر از ایران صد حیف * که نگون است درو ساغر همت جو حباب
جائے آرام درین خصه حرام است حرام * جز در شاه که واقع شده حاق از همه باب

The same idea has been presented in the following lines also:³

از بخت و از گونه خود گر کنم سوال * نبود عجب که کوہ مخالف دهد جواب
بودم به فکر آنکه کم ترک شاعری * کزوی نه گشت ساخته کار به هیچ باب

It cannot be denied that during the period of Safawī dynasty poetry was the key to a non-existing door and in those days Iranian soil had not been able to produce really first rank poets, not because of lack of talents but certainly because of lack of proper encouragement and patronage. Late Professor Browne in his History of Persian Literature⁴ with his usual acumen and insight has thoroughly dealt with this subject and has submitted following remarks which are of great

1. Vide Dīwān-i-Qudsi, Aligarh Ms. fol.3b

2. Ibid fol.11b

3. Ibid fol.12b

4. See vol. iv, pp.24-28.

interest and value because they have a direct bearing on that gloomy literary phenomenon of the age in which Qudṣī lived. He writes:

"One of the most curious and, at first sight inexplicable phenomena of the Ṣafawī period is the extraordinary dearth of notable poets in Persia during the two centuries of its duration. Architecture, miniature painting and other arts flourished exceedingly, the public buildings with which Shāh Abbās adorned his realms, and specially his capital Isfahān, have not ceased to command the admiration of all who beheld them from his time until the present day; and Bihzād and other artists who flourished at Timūrid court of Herat found worthy successors in Rida-yi-Abbāsī and his colleagues. Yet, though poets innumerable are mentioned in the Tuhfa-i-Sāmī and other contemporary biographies and histories, during the two hundred and twenty years of Ṣafawī rule there was in Persia hardly one of conspicuous merit or originality, for a brilliant group of poets from Persia adorned the Court of the great Mughals in India and these were in many cases not settlers or the sons of emigrants, but men who went from Persia to India to make their fortunes and returned home when their fortunes were made. This shows that it was not so much lack of talent as lack of patronage which makes the list of distinctively Ṣafawī poets so meagre."

For the sake of elucidating his view-points on this topic and discussing the reasons for this dearth of poets, Professor Browne in the same continuation has also quoted the views of late Mirzā Muḥammad Qazwīnī who agrees with his theory asserting that Safawī period remained totally inconspicuous in the field of poetry and fully explains those causes which were responsible for bringing down the standard of Persian poetry to such a low level.

Another unfavourable phenomenon for the progress and encouragement of poetry was, in the words of Professor Browne, (while he refers to Ridā Qulī Khān, the author of the celebrated anthology of poets namely Majma-ul-Fuṣahā) that the Safawī kings, especially Tahmasp and Abbas the great, expressed a wish that laudatory poems should be addressed to the Imāms rather than to themselves.¹

The statement of Ridā Ālī Khān that Safawī kings reserved Qasidas and praises poems only for the Imāms and did not like such poems in their own praise has been taken by Prof. Browne as " a more creditable cause for the diminution of poets in their realms."

Thus, there should be no cause for wonder if Qudṣī did not receive any benefit out of his poetical talent, and

-
1. It must be borne in mind that the majority of the laudatory poems written by Qudṣī are in praise of Imām Ālī Ridā, in praise of the fourth Caliph of Islām Hadrat Ālī Khān and in praise of Imām Ḥusayn. How could, quite naturally, such poems materially pay him if not addressed to noblemen, other dignitaries of his time, governors and monarchs?

that he is certainly justified in condemning that un-profitable literary scene which was devoid of life, vigour and charm, for want of material support to the poets from the side of their benefactors in recognition of their literary merits.

It also appears from several references in the poems of Qudsī himself that his wide renown and rapid progress as a distinguished and gifted poet formed a group of his fellow-countrymen (most probably other minor poets of his native place) to become jealous of him and his poetical accomplishments. Some verses are quoted below wherein the poet has made slashing remarks against those who envied him. He says:

ایمن همر از شتر بنهان ^{خود} * این طائفه را پرده دل کیسه ماراست
یک بار ندیدیم که اغیار نگرود * نادرنگی دسته گل بسته خاراست
or,

كدورت از دل حاسد نه می رود به سخن * به سستی باد نه خیزد ز سنگ خاره غبار
فتاده است سروکار ما به بی نمان * ز شور بختی خود گشته ایم منت دار
شمار عیم ازان دیگران کنند به من * که بد تراست زهر عیب چشم عیب شمار
كدورت از تری حاسد دست ضمیم را * چنانکه تیرگی آتش از رصوت خار

or,

نکرده هیچ هنرور در آب ناخن بند * به شعرهای ترم گو خسود صحنه مگیر
or,

بی نبردند به نیک و بد خود تیره دلان * هیچ کس روی در آئینه نه ببند شب تار
به عبت گومنه انگشت کسی بر سخن * روی آئینه به ناخن نتوان کرد فگار
پس این سنگ دلان اشک توقع معشان * بر سر خاره عبت دانه امید مکار

Yet, despite all such sources of trouble to him it appears that the poet also enjoyed the frequent company of and contact with high officials of Mashhad in his own day,¹ and that he did not fail in constantly keeping himself in touch with literary activities, taking part in poetical contests and having contacts with other compatriot poets of his time. The biographical note of 'Abd-un-Nabī about one Mīr 'Arif Muṣawī refers to this point in the following manner:²

" اسم او محمد میرک تخلص خود عارف قرار داده - از سادات مولوی
است - بعد از اندک استقراری باردیگر از زور آباد خراج کرده به زیارت مشهد
مضهر منور اقدس مقدس آمده - بعد از دریافت آن سعادت عظمی قریب به
یک سال در آن آستان ملائک آشیان ماند و با شعرا آنجا مثل قدسی و نظیر
و دیگر مردم صحبت ها داشته و غزلها گفته

It apparently, seems that Qudsi had started composing verses since early days of his youth and during his stay in Persia he had no doubt enjoyed a fair amount of reputation on account of his undeniable poetic ability and that by, common consent, he was regarded as a noted and original

1. See Maykhānah (fol.376^b) wherein 'Abd-un-Nabī writes as follows

"اما اکثر اوقات با حکام مشهد هم نشین می باشد و اغلب ساعات در مجلس ایشان

2. Vide Maykhānah, fol.395^b. با عزت و آبرو قرین "

versifier. Here are quoted views of three authentic contemporary memoir-writers about his poetry and the first of these is that of Taqī Aḥādī who states as follows:¹

"خواجه محمد جان قدسی اشعارخون صرزیامزه دارد - از حمله صاحبان
تلاش و تازه گویان است"

ʿAbd-un-Nabī writes to the following effect:²

"درین جزو زمان کسی از شعرائی آن بلده صیه به فصاحت بیان و بلاغت زبان
اونیست - شعرا به عایت پخته و بی نهایت به مزه می گوید"

And thus goes the opinion of Nāẓim of Tabrīz in his memoir *Nāẓm-i-Guzīdah*:³

"محمد جان قدسی مشهوری است که امروز در ولایت خراسان مرد میدان سخن
است و نظیر نظیر مشهوری است - بعضی قدسی را ترجیح می دهند - و به
حسن خلق و قبول صبح و اهلیت آراسته است - اشعار او هنوز بدون نشده
ولیک اشتها تمام دارد....."

In short, life and stay at Mashhad, despite Qudsī's well-grounded and well established fame as a good poet, did not prove for him eventual or extraordinary conspicuous. On the contrary, he remained mostly perturbed and mentally worried. The sole consolation for him was association with a holy service but even this could not fill up that gap which was caused by

1. Vide ʿArafāt, ii, fol. 596

2. Vide Maykhānah, fol. 376^b (see also Lahore edition p. 539)

3. Vide Aligarh Ms. no. 92/23, fol. 179^b.

adverse circumstances in his life. There was then, no option except saying good-bye to that beloved land which had failed to provide him with prosperity, happiness, and due acknowledgement of his capabilities.

CHAPTER III

THE COURT OF SHĀHJAHĀN

Literary and cultural atmosphere at the Mughal Court:

It was the good fortune of Qudsī to have flourished during the times of a Mughal Monarch whose golden period of reign shines very singularly in the history of Mughal rule in India, particularly for the remarkable progress and advancement of all kinds of arts, architecture, literature, learning and culture. As a matter of fact the whole pedigree of Tīmūrīds did a mammoth task in this direction. Bābar, the founder of this glorious dynasty, himself a poet and a man of letters laid the foundation-stone not only of a mighty empire but also of a unique centre of art, literature and learning which out-classed the literary and cultural atmosphere of the contemporary Safawis in Persia.

Shahjahān's reign was conspicuous for the development of cultural activity in India. Although he himself was not a man of any literary calibre or merit, as were his predecessors, yet the heritage of cultural achievements of his father and grand father was displayed at his hands too, and he did not lag behind in accomplishing what had already been started by his ancestors.¹

1. Prof. 'Abd-ul-Ghanī, in the three volumes of his "A History of Persian language and literature at the Mughal court", has made an effort to survey the literary and cultural enterprises of the courts of Bābar, Humāyūn and Akbar.

In fact, the greatest incentive and surest cause in creating favourable conditions for the development of art and literature was that sense of security which commonly prevailed in India during Shāhjahān's reign. Prosperity and peace reigned every where. The finances of the Government were in a very sound position and opportunities for establishing and stabilising cultural atmosphere in India were immense. Muḥammad Ṣālīḥ Kambū of Lahore, gives an account of ^{the} royal income and expenditure during Emperor Shāhjahān's reign as below:¹

" اگرچه خزائن که در مدت پنجاه و یک سال فرمان روائی خود اکبر بادشاه جمع نموده بودند و اکثر آن را هم انگیر بادشاه در مدت بیست و دو سال سلطنت خود خرج نمودند از هیچ یک سلاطین را میسر نه شده اما در عهد مینت مہد حضرت صاحبقران نانی باوجود کثرت اخراجات لشکر و مهماتی که در آن کرورها به خرج رفته و انعامات متکثره (که) در هیچ عهد نصف بل ربع آن نشده چنانچه از آغاز سربر آرائی تا این وقت نه کرور و شصت لک روپیه نقد و جنس انعام شده و دو کرور و پنجاه لک روپیه بر عمارات دولت خانه و مساجد و حدایق و قلاع که در هندوستان بنا یافته صرف شده "

It is generally believed that the cultural instinct of Shāhjahān found expressing^{ing} chiefly in his love for architecture and he busied himself mostly, in getting monumental buildings erected. But this is only one-sided view of a personality with varied dispositions. If on the one hand he

1. 'Amal-i-Ṣālīḥ 11, p.557

left to posterity immortal edifices like the Tāj, the Juma⁶ mosque of Delhi and the Peacock throne, his greatest achievement, on the other hand, was that he showed ^{all}around interest ⁱⁿtowards cultural activities and created such conditions which were favourable for the growth of art and literature alike. Under his munificent care received encouragement not only skilled artists and workmen like Saīdā-i-Gīlānī, Ustād Ahmad and Ustād Hāmid¹ but also calligraphists like Muḥammad Murād Shīrīn Raḡam and Mīr Muḥammad Ṣālih Mishkīn Raḡam; scholars and theologians like Mullā Shukr-ullāh of Shīrāz, Mullā Abd-ul-Ḥakīm of Seyālkōt, Shaykh Abd-ul-Ḥaq of Delhi, Qādi Muḥammad Zāhid of Kābul, Qādi Muḥammad Aslam, Mullā Mīrak Shaykh, Qādi Muḥammad Saīd and Mīr Muḥammad Hāshim; physicians like Ḥakīm Ṣadrā, Ḥakīm Alīm-uddīn, the reputed physician-cum-poet Ḥakīm Ruknā-i-Kāshī, Ḥakīm Muminā-i-Shīrāzī, Ḥakīm Abd-ul-Qāsim and the renowned Ḥakīm Fath-ullāh of Shīrāz; mystics and Shaykhs like Sayyid Muḥammad Ridāwī, Miyān Mīr, Sayyid Jalāl, Mullā Shah Badakhshī, Shaykh Bilāwal, Shaykh Nazīr, Shaykh Abul-Maālī; poets and literatures like Abū Tālib Kalīm, Saīdā-i-Gīlānī, Mullā Shaydā, Mullā Tughrā of Mashhad, Abul Barkat, poetically

-
1. For a more detailed information on Ustād Ahmad and Ustād Hāmid, their illustrious family and their achievements see 'Lāl Qilā-kē-Mīmār' by the late Syed Sulaimān Nadwī, published in Ma'ārif, Feb. March and April, 1936, and also Dr. Nadhir, Ahmad's articles entitled ' published in Islamic Culture ~~xxx~~ Oct.'56 and 1957. and July, 1957.

styled as Munīr of Lahore, 'Alī Qulī Salīm of Tehran¹ and a score of other minor poets.² The Emperor took personal interest and encouraged poets and other literary figures by granting them salaries and stipends. After detaching himself from the service of Prince Murād, Mullā Tughra of Mashhad settled down at Kashmīr where he regularly received from the royal treasury an allotted sum of money as his stipend.³ This favour was open to every literary figure especially a court poet who sought the Emperor's patronage. The king took special care in appointing literary and talented persons on various responsible administrative posts. Yahyā, a native of Kāshān, who was a poet and came to India during the reign of Emperor Shāhjahān, was appointed by his sovereign as the person in-

1. This list is mainly derived from 'Amal-i-Sālīh, iii, pp. similar lists of saints, learned men, physicians and poets flourishing during Shāhjahān's illustrious reign have also been furnished by Amīnā Qazwīnī and Lāhaurī in their Bādshāh Nāmās, by Khafī Khān in Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb and by other later historians.
2. Some of these celebrities were either directly attached to the royal court or received favours under other princes or noblemen of the court. Mullā Tughra of Mashhad was, according to the version of the author of Khulāṣat-ul-Kalām (iii, fol.1) for sometime patronized by prince Murād Bukhārī and then enjoyed the favours of the Emperor himself. Abul Barkāt, poetically named 'Munīr', who was son of Maulānā Abdul Mājīd was, according to the author of Khulāṣah (fol.191) favoured by the descendants of Ghayāth Beg, entitled Itimādud-Daulā, similar was the case with 'Alī Qulī Salīm of Tehran who, according to the verdict of Abū Tālib (Khulāṣah fol.86) came to India during the reign of Shāhjahān, but, because of Abū Tālib Kalīm, could not enjoy royal notice and consequently he attached himself to Islām Khān, the Wazīr.
3. Khulāṣat-ul-Kalām, iii, fol.1

charge of Qalam-dān Khānah, and was a compatriot of Qudsi and Kalīm.¹ The Emperor had also ordered various public schools to be opened at several places especially at principal cities like Delhi, Agra and Lahore and appointed able and learned persons as teachers and instructors.² The practice of handsomely rewarding poets and other skilled persons, adopted by the king and his princes, noblemen and other dignitaries of the court, attracted a large number of foreigners (especially from Persia) to India with an intent desire to benefit themselves from this country of gold.³ In the following lines Shēr Khān Lōdī in his 'Mirāt-ul-Khayāl' (completed A.H.1102) depicts the picture of alround prosperity and peace which was so characteristic a feature of Shāhjahān's rule. He states:⁴

"بخشش دایم درین صاحبقران ثانی و آدم شناسی و هشیار خرامی و لشکر کشی
و ملک گیرن و صراحی عمارت و عیان و کامران و رعیت پروری و خدا ترسی و شیوه عدل
و داد بر ساکنان رنج مسکون پوشیده نیست - اکثر از ثنات برانند که در تیموریه
(تیموریان) هیچ بادشاهی جامع این همه صفات مستحسن به ظهور نیامده "

Muhammad Hāshim, commonly known as 'Khafī Khān' in his history Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb⁵ endorses the opinion of Shēr Khān

1. Mirat-i-Āftāb Numā, Aligarh Ms. p.309
2. Tabaqāt-i-Shāhjahānī, Habīb Ganj Ms. vol. p.
(for better information on educational system during Shāhjahān's reign see Dr.Yusuf Husayn Khān's article entitled, "The Educational System in Medieval India," published in Islamic Culture, April, 1956.
3. See Browne: 'Literary History of Persia' vol., iv, pp.
4. Vide fol.24^b
5. Vide p.757

in the following way:

"برعلا از اهراست که اگرچه در ملک گیری استقلال به از محمد اکبر بادشاه رونق افزای سلطنت هندوستان در نیمه‌ریه نه بوده اما در بند بست و نسق و فراهم آوردن خزانه و آباد کاری ملک و قدردانی سپاه و رفاه لشکر به از شاه جهان بادشاه در عرصهٔ برونسخت هندوستان فرمان روائی نه گردیده - سوائے خرج لازم و ملزوم سلطنت و آنچه عمارات و قلع و مساجد شاه جهان آباد و دیگر بلاد و به انعام ایلجیان و مهم قندهار و بلخ که آخر راییگان رفته در آمده بست و چهار کرور و از جنس اشرف سوائے طلا و نقره غیر مسکوک و ظروف طلائی و نقره‌ای و جواهر که تخمیناً تا پانزده شانزده کرور آن نیز می باشد مانده بود - و در رعیت پروری و عدم تعدی حکام تقید حکام داشت"

Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saxena in his 'History of Shāhjahān of Delhi,¹ has also touched this subject, stating:

"Shāhjahān's court represented the height of kingly splendour. In his reign the Mughal Empire attained to the zenith of its prosperity and affluence. The fame of the wealth of India attracted a stream of foreign visitors from across the same, who were dazzled by the magnificent grandeur of the Emperor and his surroundings. The gorgeousness of his court surpassed their imagination, and drew from them unstinted admiration..... The central figure in this magnificent array of pomp and splendour was the Emperor."

In this way a considerably fair idea can be gained about the general prosperous conditions of the reign of Shāhjahān,

1. Vide p.237.

with special reference to financial stability of the state. Consequently, the court of the king became a centre of varied cultural activities under his personal patronage. That he cherished a keen desire to encourage serious literature too, is well testified by his interest he took in getting composed some valuable historical works during and about his reign. Muḥammad Amin,¹ son of Abul Hasan, familiarly known as Amīnā-i-Qazwīnī, was the first man whom he had entrusted with the task of composing the historical records of forty-seven years, i.e. since his birth till 10th year of his reign (A.H. 1047-8).

Apart from the case of Amīnā-i-Qazwīnī, whom he engaged for such an important work, he had also invited Mullā 'Abd-ul-Hamīd Lāhaurī.² to write another history similar in style and

1. Muḥammad Amin, as is proved by his own statement in the preface of his Bādshāh-Nāmāh, came and joined royal service in the fifth year of the Emperor's reign, (the same year in which Qudsī also received the same distinguished favour) and wrote a valuable history of his sovereign. As is indicated from his writing, Shāhjahān had formerly ordered some other annalists of the court also to write a similar history, but most probably they failed to do so, or even if they did something that was not, perhaps, according to his liking or upto the mark. (Preface: Bādshāh-Nāmāh Rampur Ms.No.2091, p.15). Other sources tell us that this able and talented historiographer of the Court of Shāhjahān was later transferred to the Intelligence Department of the state administration. References for further information about him and his historical work are found in Elliot's 'History of India,' vii, p.1 and in C.A.Storey's 'Persian Literature, Section ii, p.568, and these are, in turn, derived from his own autobiographical note in his work Bādshāh-Nāmāh.
2. In the preface of the seventh volume of Sir Henry Elliot's 'History of India' we find: "The History of the reign of Shāhjahān is derived from the Bādshāh Nāmā of 'Abdul Hamīd and from other Bādshāhnāmas and Shāhjahān Nāmas." 'Abd-ul-Hamīd Lāhaurī died in A.H.1065. This important literary figure and historian of Shāhjahān's times has been praised in high terms by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ in his 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ'(iii,p.438).

treatment to that of Akbar-Nāmāh of Abul-Faḍl.¹ Such events show Shāhjahān's deep interest in history.

To be brief, the Emperor's elevated court was adorned by a galaxy of learned men, scholars, poets and all kinds of artists and skilled physicians.

QUDSĪ'S ARRIVAL AND STAY IN INDIA. Thus Qudsī passed through a glorious and eventful phase of his life after he came to India and joined such a magnificent court. It is, however, sad that the exact date of his departure from Mashhad as well as the date of his arrival in India cannot be determined. His biographers and historians agree that he came to India in the fifth year of the reign of Shāhjahān. Amīnā Qazwīnī mentions that he (Qudsī) took up his journey to India in the fifth year of the reign of the Emperor and also joined royal service the same year.² This view has been correctly supported by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambū³ so far as Qudsī's departure is concerned, but he is probably wrong in affirming that Qudsī arrived in the year A.H.1041. In all probability, he came towards the end of the fifth year (i.e. Jumāda II, A.H. 1041-1042), and, as it has been expressly suggested by Āzād Bilgrāmī,⁴ in the month of

1. Preface to Bādshāh Nāmāh, vol. 1, part 1, A.S.B. publication, pp.9-10.

2. Vide the Bādshāh-Nāmāh, Rampur Ms. No.2091 (Appendix)

3. Vide Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, iii, p.397

4. Vide his Sarw-i-Āzād and Khizānā-i-Amīrah. It is very strange that Āzād in his another work, Yad-i-Bayda, has given A.H.1041, the year of Qudsī's arrival in India. The reason of this self-contradiction is probably due to the fact that Yad-i-Bayda was an earlier work completed in A.H. 1141, while Sarw-i-Āzād and Khizānā-i-Amīrah were completed in A.H. 1165 and 1176 respectively.

Rabi II, A.H.1042. This view is quite believable. Even 'Abd-ul-Hamid Lahauri and Muhammad Sālih¹ have both given Qudsi's account of arrival towards the end of the chronological narration of events of the emperor's fifth coronation year (A.H.1041-42).² Fadl-Ālī Khān in his Bustān-i-be-Khizān and Ālī Ibrāhīm Khān Khalīl in his Khulāṣat-ul-Kalām³ have also supported the above view.⁴ The statements, however, giving A.H. 1041 as the year when Qudsi arrived in India are apparently wrong.⁵

From the statements of Amīnā Qazwīnī, 'Abd-ul-Hamid Lāhaurī

-
1. Vide the Bādshāh Nāmāh (vol.1, part 1, p.444-5) and Āmal-i-Sālih (vol.1, p.508).
 2. See also Shāhjahān-Nāmāh by Ināyat Khān Ashnā, whose version has been quoted by Prof. Shafi in his Maykhānah, (Lahore Edition, appendix, p.92) in the following way:

"شاه جهان نامہ عنایت خان آشنا میں بذیل وقائع ربیع الثانی سنہ ۱۰۴۱ھ
 لکھا ہے :- "حاجی محمد (جان) مشہدی قدسی تخلص کہ درسخنوران عراق و
 خراسان بہ جودت فطرت و رسائی بیعت و سلاست کلام و یافتن مضامین بکرامت یاز تمام
 دارد از مشہد مقدس روئے امید بہ ابن آستان دولت آوردہ بہ ملازمت مستسعد گشت - وقصد
 رہ آوردی کہ گفتہ بود بہ عرش رسانید وہ عنایت خلعت و انعام دو ہزار روپیہ کامیاب گشتہ و رسلک
 مداحان انتظام یافت"

3. Vide p.314 and fol.172 respectively.
4. See also Etbe: I.O.L. Cat. vol. 1, p.845, and Bodleian Library cat. part 1 p.686.
5. Vide Sayf-uddin: 'Fanūs-i-Khayal'; and 'Hamēshāh Bahār', as referred to in Sprenger's cat., p.128; in Rieu, (Br. Museum cat. ii, p.684) in Buhār Library cat. vol.1 p.286 and in C.A.Story: 'Persian Literature', Section II, p.568.

and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambū, it is evident that the poet came in contact directly with his sovereign. When he was granted the first audience by the king, Qudṣī read out the panegyric he had composed for the purpose of being presented to him. The king being much pleased with him employed him as a court poet. Qazwīnī thus writes in this connection:¹

"نخست حاجی محمد جان قدسی تخلص مولد و موطن مشهد مقدس است - در سنه پنجم جلوس همیون حضرت صاحب قران ثانی به ره نمونش صالح سفر هند اختیار نمود و در سلک بنده هائی درگاه خلائق پناه انتظام یافت"

Abd-ul-Ḥamīd Lāhaurī discloses certain other unknown facts also and writes to the following effect.²

"حاجی محمد جان مشهدی قدسی تخلص که در سخن سنجان عراق و خراسان به خودت فطرت و رسائی طبیعت معروف است و به پیشوائی بخت بیدار و ره نمائی دولت کارگزار بسان دیگر سخن و ران آفاق دل از موطن هنر گرفته به عزیمت آستان بوس ربه هندوستان بهشت نشان نهاده بود به احراز سعادت ملازمت مستعد گشته قصیده در مدح پادشاه خود گستر هنر پرور به عروسی رسانید - و به عنایت خلعت و اسپ و انعام دو هزار ربه سربرافراخته - رسالت مداخلان انتظام یافت"

Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambū,³ while writing about the arrival of

1. Vide the Bādshāh-Nāmā appendix, Rampur Ms. No. 2091.
2. Vide the Bādshāh Nāmā, vol. 1 part 1, pp. 444-5.
3. The identity of this reputed historian of Shāhjahān's reign has been wrongly confused by Sir Henry Elliot, (History of India, vol. vii, p. 123) with Mīr Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ 'Mishkīn Raqam' the celebrated calligraphist of Shāhjahān's times. Maulānā Ghulām Muḥammad 'Haft Qalamī' in his work 'Tadhkira-i-Khush-Nawīsān, p. 101 has given the biographical note on Mīr Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ. He states that he was the son of famous Mīr Abdullāh, the 'Mishkīn Qalam, and was both a Persian and Hindi poet having respectively the poetic names, Kashfī and Subhānī. He was also the author of 'Majmūh-i-Rāz', 'Ijāz-i-Muṣṭafawī' and other works. He died in A.H. 1061. Moreover, Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambū has also given a notice of this master calligraphist in his historical work 'Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ iii, p. 444.

Qudsi, mentions as follows:¹

"و در همین ایام اعراف در فن عابد و قدام حاضری محمد جان قدس تجلی از اهل مشهد مقدس که به نهایت مرتبه تقدس ذات و تنزه صفات و عایب و رب و پرہیز با کمال تفرد در فن شاعر و سخن وردی که احتیاج این مراتب در یک ذات کم تر بہم داده اتماف دارد از روشن احرام - راف رکن و مقام این قبلہ امانی و آمال محتاجان و کعبہ - اہ و سائل انش و جان از تہ دل بر میان جان بسته خود را بہ ادوات این سعادت علمی رسانید و فہمیدہ عراقہ در ستاک بندگان در گاہ - چہان بناہ بہ رقی رہ آورد انشاء کردہ بود در حضور پرنور انشاء نمود "

'Abdul Hamīd Lāhaurī and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ have also quoted in this connection, fifteen and twelve verses respectively of the panegyric² (referred to above) meant to be presented before Shāhjahān, by Qudsi.³ It is proper if these verses are

1. Āmal-i-Ṣāliḥ, vol. 1, p.508

2. Also referred to by Āzād Bilgrāmī in his Sarw-i-Āzād and Khizānāh-i-Āmīrah, but only the opening line has been quoted.

3. This panegyric, probably in its entirety is to be found on p.194 in a Ms. copy of Qudsi's diwan in the Rampur Library under No.3484, but only 11 verses tally with with 'Abd-ul-Hamīd's version, and only 8 with that of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kāmbū. The following four verses which are common in both are not included in the Rampur Ms.

حاج حیرت کے بود گر کامی آمد از ازل * مہر در رخ کمال آید پدید از خاوران
آفتابی این چنین اے تہ در درخ قرن * از زمان دولت ما بقران تا این زمان
خون نہشت از نہ پای نقہ - وقت اقلیم را * ربع مسکون گود گر بنہ میں بہ عیہ - ماودان
مہر ت آثار عدل - رد بر خواہد گرفت * سہم زندہ یزدل از گردن تو - سروان

reproduced here as well:

ای قلم بر خود بیال از شادی و بکشا زبان * در ثنائی قبله^۱ دین ثانی صاحب قران
 آبروی آفرین کعبه صدق و صفا * قبله اقبال خاقان زمن شاه جهان
 جوهر اول شهاب الدین محمد کز ازل * از برای خدمت زد چرخ دامن بر میان
 اختربین کرامت مظهر نصف انه * جوهر تیغ شجاعت مصدر امن و امان
 آنکه از آغاز فرصت بسته شهباز ظفر * چون عقاب تیر بر شاخ کمان آشیان
 گرمخالف و موافق از ولایت دم زند * باید و نیکی است چون خورشید گرمهریان
 تازمین دولت ایمن شود از حادثات * زد بد امان بقای دست عمر حادان
 دولت از پیشانی پیداجو نور از آفتاب * نصرت از تیغ لامع شمع جومهر از خاوران
 سرمه چشم عزالان سازد از داغ بلند * سازگاری هائے عدل چون نهد بادرمیان
 شهرت آثار عدل زود بر خواهد گرفت * تهمت ز نصیر عدل از گردن نوشیروان
 خوس نصرت از نقد بهای نشاء هفت اقلیم را * ربع مسکون گو دگر بنشین به عیان حادان
 آفتاب این چنین عالی نه شد در هیچ قرن * از زمان دولت صاحبقران تا این زمان
 حائے حیرت کی بود اگر کامل آمد از ازل * مهر در حد کمال آید پدید از خاوران
 سرغیی بر در میر روشن پوشیده نیست * راز خود تقدیر بارائے تودارد در میان
 حبذا دولت که بیند با تو خود راهم رکاب * مرصعا نصرت که باشد با تو دایم هم عنان

The second, seventh and eighth verses of this selection are omitted in *Āmal-i-Ṣāliḥ*. However, from all such discussion what comes to light is, that soon after his arrival in India Qudsi was able to have direct access to the royal court which naturally, afterwards resulted in his selection as a court eulogist. But in a number of memoirs there is an indirect reference to this effect that Qudsi was in the beginning

patronized by 'Abd-ullāh Khān Fīroz-Jang,¹ although no such information is supplied by any contemporary historian. In the following lines an estimate has been made of 'Abd-ullāh Khān Fīroz-Jang², who is generally believed to be the first benefactor of Qudsī in India.

He was one of the most distinguished Amīrs of the court of Shāhjahān. His real name was Khwājā 'Abdullāh and he was one of the descendents of Khwājā Ubayd-ullāh Nāṣir-uddīn Ahrār,³ and was nephew (Sister's son) to Khwājā Hasan Naqshbandī.⁴ During the concluding years of Akbar's

-
1. In Khulāṣah (fol.147), it is clearly mentioned that 'Abd-ullāh Khān Fīrōz-Jang was Qudsī's patron.
 2. The authors of Mirat-ul-Khayāl (fol.24b), Tadhkira-i-Husaynī, (p.228) and that of Bazm-i-Tīmuriyā (p.178-9) have wrongly given his name as 'Abd-ullāh Khān Zakhmī. The author of Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā (see index, A.S.B. publication) gives several namesakes of 'Abd-ullāh Khān, out of whom 'Abd-ullāh Khān Zakhmī and 'Abd-ullāh Khān Bahadur Fīroz Jang were two different persons. 'Abd-ullāh Khān Zakhmī has also been referred to on pp.718, 729, in vol.1 of Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā.
 3. About the lineage of Khwājā 'Abd-ullāh, Mirzā Hādī in his preface to Tuzuk-i-Jahāngirī (p.6) thus writes:

"آبای خواجه از سادات کبار اند وجد چهارم ایشان قبله ارباب وحد و حال امیر
سید عاشق است که احوال ایشان در کتاب حبیب السیر "ورشحات" مرقوم شده"

4. According to Mirzā Hādī, it was the same Khwājā Hasan to whom Emperor Akbar had given his sister Najīb-un-Nisā Begam in marriage. In the preface to Tuzuk (p.6-7) Hādī writes:

"والده خواجه خواهر خواجه حسن نقشبندی است که نجیب النساء بیگم
دمشیره حضرت عرب آشپانی را در حباله نکاح داشت"

reign¹ he came from Hissar,² along with two of his brothers, Khwājā Yādgar and Khwājā Barkhurdār, and entered Akbar's service.³ During early days, after his arrival in India, Abd-ullāh Khān stayed for some time in the Deccan with Shēr Khwājā⁴ and "whenever occasion demanded he exhibited his courage and and military skill." Apparently he did not stay long in the

1. Mirzā Hādī states that just after prince Khurram (later destined to be known to posterity as Shāhjahān) was born on the first day of Rabi I, A.H.1000, Khwājā Abd-ullāh came and joined royal service. The whole quotation runs as follows:

"و سلع شهر ربيع الاول سنه هزار هجری بعد از انقضای پنجم ساعت و دروازه دقیقه از شب پنجشنبه که در عهد دولت جهانگیری به مبارک شنبه اشتباه یافته به طالع میزان به حساب اختر شناسان فرس و سنبله به شمار منجمان هند در دار السلطنت لاهور اختبر بر خلافت از بطن صبیبه قدسیه راجه اودے سنگھ قدم بر اورنگ وجود نهاد روز سیوم از ولادت اقدس حضرت عرش آشیانی به دولت سران جهانگیری تشریف برده دیده را به جمال جهان افروز اورشنی افزودند - و در آن محفل جشنی عظیم ترتیب یافته بود که چشم روزگار از مشاهده آن سرمه حیرت می کشید و چون قدم میمنت لزوم سبب خور می و نشاط جد بزرگوار گردید - به الهام غیبی به سلطان حرم موسوم فرمودند - از وقایع این ایام آمدن خواجہ عبداللہ است به درگاه حضرت جهانگیری"

Dr. Banarsi Prasad Saxena in his 'History of Shāhjahān' contradicts the opinion of Mirzā Hādī, as well as that of Jahāngīr himself, that prince Khurram was born in the year A.H.1000; contrarily, he believes that Shāhjahān was born in A.H.1002, the year in which Khwājā Abd-ullāh actually entered the royal service.

2. Mirzā Hādī: preface to Tuzuk; Dr. Beni Prasad: 'History of Jahāngīr' (p.232, foot-notes) informs that Hissar is in Transoxiana.
3. Mirzā Hādī, preface to Tuzuk, p.6
4. Mirzā Hādī, preface to Tuzuk, p.6; Maāthir-ul-Umarā, iii, pp.777.

Deccan, returned and joined service of the royal court in the year A.H.1003.¹ After his return from the Deccan 'Abd-ullāh Khān spent his early days in the company of prince Salīm, gradually rose to prominence, became one of the intimate associates of the prince and received from him the rank of 1500 and the title of 'Khān', when the prince was in revolt against his father and was granting titles and jagirs to his supporters in Allahabad.² But in the 48th year of the reign of Akbar³ (A.D.1504) 'Abdullāh Khān deserted prince Salīm and joined Akbar's court⁴ and received fresh title from him.⁵

1. Mirzā Hādī, preface to Tuzuk, p.7
2. Maāthir-ul-Umarā, iii, p.777, History of Jahāngīr by Dr.Benī Prasad, p.48.
3. Maāthir-ul-Umarā, iii, p.777
4. Mirzā Hādī (p.12-3) and the author of Maāthir-ul-Umarā (iii, p.777) state that the cause of 'Abdullāh Khān's desertion was the rivalry which occurred, owing to certain reasons, between him and Sharif Khān, the principal officer under rebellious Salīm.
5. Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri, p.11-2; Mirzā Hādī (preface, p.12-3) writes:

"از سوانح این ایام رفتن عبداللہ خان است بہ درگاہ حضرت عراق آشیانی چون شریف خان وکیل السلطنت شد صحبت عبداللہ خان بہ او در تدریج و او پیوستہ در خدمت شاہنشاهی شکرہ ایشان می کرد۔ ناگزیر بہ رفاقت خواجہ بادگاروی امید بہ درگاہ بادشاہ جمیہ تہادند۔ و آن حضرت سحر را صالت و شجاعت از سیمائے خان مذکور دریافتہ و شایستہ تربیت دانستہ بہ منصب ہزار و پانصدی و خطاب مفدر خانی امتیاز بخشیدند۔"

After the death of Akbar, Jahāngīr ascended the throne. Though he was not pleased with Abd-ullāh Khān because the latter had deserted him without his permission, he did not reduce his rank or jagir granted to him by Akbar and kept up Abd-ullāh Khān's dignity and honour because 'verily he was a gallant youth and if he had not committed that wrongful act he was a young man without any blemish¹.'

Undoubtedly, Abd-ullāh Khān was a military general of the first order. Soon after Jahāngīr's accession, Abd-ullāh Khān's rank was raised to 2,500 dhat and 500 suwar.² When he defeated and captured Ramchand Bundela, son of Nand Kunwar, his status was further raised to 3,000 dhat and 2,000 Suwar.³

In the fourth year of the reign of Jahangir (1018/1609) Abd-ullāh Khān replaced Makābat Khān as the chief of the imperial forces for his military campaign against Rana Amar Singh⁴, attacked Mīhrpur and finally inflicted a heavy defeat on the Rajputs and thus earned good name and reputation. This remarkable feat brought for him the lofty title of Fīrōze-Jang.⁵

1. Tuzuk, p.11-2

2. Tuzuk, p.34

3. Tuzuk, p.39

4. Maāthir-ul-Umarā, iii, p.773., also Tuzuk, p.74

5. Jahāngīr (Tuzuk, p.74) writes that he had conferred the said title on Abd-ullāh Khān even before despatching him to take up the campaign against the Rana. The author of Maāthir-ul-Umarā is apparently wrong to assert that the title of Fīrōz-Jang, along with the rank of 6,000 was conferred on him when he had defeated and eradicated Khān Jahān and Daryā Khān.

In the sixth year of Jahāngīr's reign (1020/1611) Abd-ullāh Khān Fīrōz-Jang was appointed Governor of Gujrat. Shortly after his appointment, when a plan was formed to attack Malik Ambar of the Deccan, Abd-ullāh Khān Fīrōz-Jang did not cooperate with other officers of the royal forces (which were organised to make a combined assault from the north) and under the passion of vanity, greed and ambition took no notice of the fellow armies and entered the land of the enemy. The unwise step brought evil consequences. On account of the stern opposition, he had to retreat; his armies were defeated and he had to face utter humiliation and disgrace. Jahāngīr was greatly annoyed at this foolish act of Abd-ullāh Khān Fīrōz-Jang, who had to undergo a serious castigation but through the intercession of prince Khurram who came to his rescue, he was pardoned.¹

After prince Khurram's peaceful settlement of the Deccan problem, Abd-ullāh Khān, who was one of the lieutenants of the prince was greatly honoured and rewarded.

Abd-ullāh Khān Fīrōz-Jang was not a man of high character. His career was, throughout, tinted with acts of treachery, and some writer has rightly called him the wind cock of his day. During prince Khurram's rebellion (1622) he resorted to treachery at the battle of Biluchpur, where he had to meet with a command of ten thousand soldiers, the armies of the rebellious prince. He, accompanied by his fellow cons-

1. Tuzuk, p.107, and Maāthir-ul-Umarā, iii, p.780.

pirators deserted the imperialists and joined prince Khurram. On the charge of conspiring with Malik Ambar he was interned in the fort of Asīr.¹

Despite his faults and undesirable behaviour he was fortunate to enjoy favours at the hands of Shāhjahān, when the latter became king, because he was a direct descendent of the Naqshbandiyā order. During Shāhjahān's days too, he rendered many commendable military services and ultimately received the rank of 6,000.² In the fifth year of the reign of Shāhjahān he was appointed Governor of Bihar. He died on 17th of Shawwāl, A.H.1054 at about the age of Seventy years.³

Contrary to the common belief, Abd-ullāh Khān's guardianship of Qudsī is doubtful on the grounds enumerated below:

Firstly, we have not been able to discover or trace out in any diwan of Qudsī any such qaṣīdah which might have been composed by the poet in his praise. Secondly, the single mathnawī couplet⁴ of Qudsī which has been so usually quoted

1. Maāthir-ul-Umarā, iii, p.782

2. The authors of Mirat-ul-Khayāl, (fol.24^b) Tadhkira-Husaynī (p.226) and Bazm-i-Timūriyā (p.178-9) are apparently mistaken to call him a courtier of the rank of 7,000. Abd-ul-Hamīd Lahaurī and Muhammad Ṣāliḥ Kambū Bādshāh Nāma, ii, 713 and Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, iii, p.449 have mentioned him to be an Amīr of 6000 dhat and suwar. It apparently seems that the authors of Tadhkira-i-Husaynī and Bazm-i-Timūriyā have borrowed this piece of information from Mirat-ul-Khayāl of Shēr Khān Lōdī.

3. Lahaurī's Bādshāh Nāma, ii., p.402

4. Viz:

نہنگے کہ از غایت احتشام * نہ گنجد بہ بحر از بزرگیں نام

by the biographers with reference to 'Abd-ullāh Khān, does not necessarily make him to be the poet's benefactor. The couplet in which there is just a casual reference about 'Abd-ullāh Khān Firōz-Jung are ~~not~~ only in the context of the description of some military campaign in which 'Abd-ullāh Khān Firōz-Jang was one of the three military generals. Those lines run as follows:-¹

سربردان خان فیروز جنگ * که از هیبت آسمان یافت رنگ
 به مردانگی برسران است سر * به فیروز جنگی به عالم سحر
 نهنگی که از غایت احتشام * نه گنجد به بحر از بزرگی نام
 به میدان حو محکم کند پای خوی * گریزد سبک کوه آهن زیبی
 فشارد چوپا بر زمین روز کین * نلرزد (بطرزد) دگر تا قیامت زمین
 کشد آهن تیغ از اقتدار * ز فولاد بر کرد عالم حصار
 ز تمکین نشان پس روز جنگ * چون نقی پش حاضر ماند بسنگ

In fact, this eulogizing mood continues when Qudsi glorifies, in the ^{next} few lines of the same mathnawī, another valourous chief, Khān Jahān, exercising no discrimination between him and 'Abd-ullāh Khān Firōz-Jang. Thirdly, the story which has been widely written by memoir-writers, and which speaks in high terms of 'Abd-ullāh Khān's lavish act of generosity towards Qudsi, apparently looks false and

1. Zafar-Nāma-i-Qudsi, Aligarh Ms. p.352

See under the title, 'داستان به قتر رسیدن چهاربند یله

fictitious. However, those statements are reproduced below in which some kind of affinity between 'Abdullāh Khān and Qudsī is established. Mir Afdāl Surkhush writes:¹

"ظفرنامه" شاه جهان را با حسن وجه و دل خواه سرز فصاحت و بلاغت تمام کرد
حون دید که نام عبدالله خان بهادر فیروز جنگ درین بحر گنجائی نه
دارد باین حسن اد اذکر کرده -

نهنگی که از عایت احتشام * نه گنجد به بحر از بزرگیان نام

Sher Khān Lōdī states as follows:²

"آورده اند که محمد جان قدسی در یکی از سفرها قصیده در مدح عبدالله خان
زخمی که از او در حضرت حواجهها بود و منصب هفت هزار سوار داشت
به حضورش برد و در مجلس ایستاده تمام قصیده را بخواند - چون فارغ شد
عبدالله خان برخاست و هر دو دستش گرفته بر مسند خود نشاند و خود با پیرهن
سفید و تنبان که در برداشت بر بالکی سوار شده از لشکر برآمد و خیمه را هلاک و خزان
و جمع کارخانجات و دو آب در وجهه علیه بدو بخشید -"

More or less the same story has been copied and repeated by Husayn Dōst, Mir Alā-ud-Daulā, Kishan Chand Ikhlās, Husayn Qulī Khān, and Sabāh-uddīn Abd-ur Rahmān.³ Some

1. Vide Kalimāt-ush-Shuarā, Aligarh Ms. fol. 41^a. See also Safina-i-Bekhabar by Azmat-ullāh, Sarwā-i-Āzād by Āzād Bilgrāmī and Makhzan-ul-Gharāib by Ahmad Ali Hashimī, and Khushāh-ul-Afkār by Abū Tālib.

2. Vide Mīst-ul-Khayāl, Aligarh Ms. fol. 24^b

3. Vide Tadhkira-i-Husaynī, Tadhkirat-ush-Shuarā, Hamēshah Bahār, Nishtar-i-Ishq and Bazm-i-Tīmūriā, respectively. See also Bankipur cat; iii (Persian poetry) p. 75.

Judicious authors like Khān-i-Ārzū in his Majma-un-Nafāis, Āzād Bilgrāmī in his Sarw-i-Āzād, Sayf-uddin Muḥammad in his Fanus-i-Khayāl and Haydar Ḥusayn of Delhi in his Tadhkira-i-Shuara-i-Madiah have not made any reference to this unauthenticated story. Another point which makes it all the more unsound is that not a single line of the Qaṣīdah that brought so much of reward and honour for Qudsi has been quoted by any of such authorities. All these facts put together deny Abd-ullāh Khān Fīrōz-Jang the place which has been given to him by various authors. As for Qudsi's being introduced to Shāhjahān through Abd-ullāh Khān Fīrōz-Jang,¹ we have no definite internal or external testimony. It may or may not be a reality.

STAY AT THE ROYAL COURT OF SHĀHJAHĀN. By virtue of being a royal panegyrist and court poet, Qudsi mostly lived under the benevolent care of the emperor. He seems to have visited other places also such as Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Burhanpur, the Deccan and Kashmir, but the details of his visit to these places is not known. It is, however, certain that he had visited Kashmīr with the king, in A.H.1043 and versified several poems while on the way to Kashmīr and also during his stay there for three months! From his own verses in praise of Agra it appears

1. Rieu: British Museum cat. ii, p.684, Abdul Muqtadir:

Bankipur cat. iii, p.75 Qāsim Ḥasir; Buhār Library cat, p.286 C.A. storey 'Persian Literature', section ii, p.568.

that he had gone there also. In praise of the fair-ones of Agra he thus sings.¹

به ملک دگر حاصرم شاد نیست * بهشتی به از اکبرآباد نیست
 درین گلشن عیش و دار سرور * به هر گوشه جوی طمان و حور
 زسبزان شیرین شامل میرس * لب برنمک بین و از دل میرس
 چوسنبیل همه می‌شان پیچ پیچ * کمر هیچ و دلها گرفتار هیچ
 شکرخنده عام و دهن نا بدید * جهان نمک بی نمک دان که دید
 دهن هیچ در هیچ هم عد سخن * همین درد هان گفتگوی دهن
 به مورفته از چشم امید جواب * ز دلها به تاب کمر برده تاب
 ندانم بجز حرف سبزان هوس * سخن سبز کردن همین است و بس

From some other sources it also appears that during his stay in India he had settled down at Lāhore. This clue has been furnished directly by Syed Haydar Husayn of Delhi, and indirectly by two other authorities whose opinions we shall discuss subsequently. Haydar Husayn states as under:²

"قدسى تخلص الموسوم حاجى محمد خان وارد هندوستان گرديده در
 دهراستقامت مي داشتند"

As for his visit to Burhanpur, the same has been referred to by Qudsi himself, in the following fragment.³

کم ترین بنده درگاه سعادت قدسی * چند روز است که از ضعف ز خدمت دور است
 دین پناها ز عراق در خویش برهان * که گرفتار به بیماری برهان پور است

1. Vide the mathnawī entitled 'Zafar Nāma-i-Qudsi', Aligarh Ms. No.F.A, 81, p.395

2. Vide Tadhkira-i-Shuarā-i-Mādiā.

3. Vide Dīwān-i-Qudsi, Bankipur Ms. No.684 fol.282.

LIBERAL AWARDS WHICH QUDSĪ RECEIVED ON NUMEROUS OCCASIONS
FROM HIS PATRON.

Apart from his fixed salary or allowance the poet was handsomely rewarded on several occasions by Shāhjahān. On presenting his first panegyric¹ in praise of the emperor of India he was awarded, a horse, a robe of honour and Rs.2,000/- in cash.² After the festival of Naurōz had been celebrated on 12th of Shawwāl, A.H.1045, the most memorable day in Qudsī's life was 16th of the same month when he was weighed against silver³ for composing a Qasīdah⁴ in honour of the king. The honour of the king. The value of that silver amounting to Rs.5,500/- was given to him.⁵ Āzād Bilgramī in his Sarw-i-Āzād and Khizāna-i-Amīrah writes that Qudsī was also awarded in the middle of Rabī, I, A.H.1049 one hundred muhurs for a single couplet, and that in the beginning of Shawwāl, A.H.1054, on the convalescence of Shāhjahān's eldest daughter Jahān-Ārā Begam (commonly known as Begam Sahib) from the serious injuries

1. Already referred to previously on page 55.

2. Lāhaurī: Bādshāh Nāmā, i, part 1, pp.444-5; Sarw-i-Āzād, p.61

3. Most of the writers have written it as gold, but Sayyid Haydar Husayn in his Tadhkira-i-Shuarā-i-Mādiyah has authoritatively mentioned that it was 'Zar-i-Sufayd', and it is apparently correct. Dr. Hādī Hasan in his 'Mughal Poetry' (p.49) has also refuted those views which hold that 'Zar' stands for gold. Proving on the basis of the authoritative opinion of Abd-ul-Hamīd Lāhaurī he believes that 'Zar' in those days ordinarily meant Silver, the word for gold being Zar-i-Surkh.

4. This Qasīdah or verses thereof have not been referred to by any writer.

5. Lāhaurī: Bādshāh Nāmā, vol. 1, part 11 p.142.

caused by the burning-fire, Qudsī composed a Rubāī to felicitate the happy occasion and was awarded a robe of honour and a cash reward of Rs.2,000/-.¹ The only second couplet of this Rubāī quoted by Mir Afdal Sarkhush, Āzād Bilgrāmī and Fadl-i-Ālī Khān² runs as follows:

تا سرزده از شمع جنین بر ادبی * پروانه ز عشق شمع واسوخته است

The authors of *Nishtar-i-Ishq* and *Bazm-i-Timūriyā* have asserted that it was a Qaṣīdah and not a Rubāī which Qudsī had composed on the occasion. But Abd-ul-Ḥamīd Lāhaurī and Muḥammad Ṣālih have not pointed out whether it was a Qaṣīdah or a Rubāī. The author of *Bazm-i-Timūriyā* has strictly followed the remark of Mir Afdal Sarkhush; and in this connection has made a very confusing statement. He says that Qudsī composed the said Rubāī when Jahān-Ārā was seriously injured by the burning-fire. His statement runs as follows:³

"جہان آرا کے جننے کے موقعہ پر قدسی نے ایک رباعی لکھ کر گزرانی - اس کی آخری ہیئت یہ ہے - (کلمات الشعرا)

تا سرزده از شمع جنین بر ادبی * پروانه ز عشق شمع واسوخته است

Describing Jahan Ara's convalescence under the account of

1. Vide pp.61 and 377 respectively

2. Vide *Kalimat-ush-Shuarā*; *Sarw-i-Āzād* and *Khizāna-i-Āmirah* and *Taḥkīra-i-Bustān-i-Be-Khizān*.

3. See *Bazm-i-Timūriyā*, p.178-9.

A.H. 1054, 'Abd-ul-Hamid Lahauri states as follows:¹

"و شعرائے بلاغت و معارف از بخت بیدار به حضور بیس کاه قوایم سر بر حجابان
کامیاب اند اشعار عربیه شرف استماع مسامح خلعت رسانیدند - حاجی محمد جان
قدس به عنایت خلعت و انعام دو هزار روپیه - دیگران در حور حالت به عیالات
سرافراز گردیدند"

Even Muhammad Ṣāliḥ has mentioned that it was on the occasion of Jahān Ārā's convalescence (opening days of Shawwāl, A.H.1054) when Qudsī was awarded the above guerdon.²

Some authors like Shēr Khān Lōdī, Husayn Dōst, Mīr Alā-ud-Daulā Ashraf Ālī Khān, Husayn Qulī Khān, Kishan Chand Ikhlās and some other modern writers like Sabāḥ-uddīn 'Abd-ur-Rahmān and Shaykh Moḥammad Ikram relate an apparently unauthenticated anecdote of Shāhjahān's liberality towards Qudsī. They affirm that on one occasion for composing a fine Qaṣīdah in his sovereign's praise poet's mouth was filled, seven times with precious jewels.³ The remark of Shēr Khān, who seems to have been the earliest source of this information, is, however, quoted below:⁴

"بعد از چند روز حاجی محمد جان قصیده رنگین تر از ان در مدح شاه بقران
ثانی گفته به عرض رسانید - و پادشاه خبر بخشش عبدالله خان شنیده بود -
گفت حاجی مدد که عبدالله خان به توداده است هیچ کس نه می تواند
داد - اما اقسام - و آخر قیمتی طلبید و فرمود تا بخت بار دهان از ان پر
گردانند"

1. Vide Bādshāh-Nāmā, vol.ii, p.400

2. Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ ii, p.418

3. See also Sprenger's cat., chap. ii, Persian poetry p.536

4. Vide Mirāt-ul-Khayāl fol.24^b

On account of absence of contemporary evidence, Āzād Bilgrāmī in his *Sarw-i-Āzād* has rightly refused to admit the validity of this unauthorized statement. He writes:

"شیرخان لودی در مرآة الحیال می نویسد که حاجی محمد - ان قدسی قصیده رنگین در مدح صاحب قرآن ثانی گفته به عربی رسانید - بادشاه اقسام خواهر قیمتی طلبیده نمود تا هفت بار دهان از آن پر کردند - انتهی - اما مولفین شاه جهان نامه ها من ملاحظه نمودم لا محذور و ملا علاءالملک تونی و صاحب عمل حال که هر کدام مدح بادشاه مستوفی ندارد صله پر کردن دهان قدسی به خواهر برزبان قسم نیارده اند"

Mir Afdāl Sarkhush in his *Kalimat-ush-Shuara*¹ states that on an occasion when a white elephant was presented to the emperor and when he mounted upon it Qudsi versified impromptu the following quatrain,² and received handsome awards, but this has been denied by Khafī Khān in his *Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb*,³ who rightly attributes it to Abū Talib Kalīm . Narrating chronologically the account of the third year of emperor's reign (A.H. 1039-40; by this time Qudsi had not arrived in India) Khafī Khān writes:

"آن جانور کم یاب کران بها (فیل) را به قیمت حاضرخواه خریده به صریق پیشکش روانه درگاه والا نمود - نهایت پسند افتاد و محرابی اوشد و موسوم به گجیت ساختند روزی که بران خود بدولت سواری فرمودند طالبی کسب این رباعی را بدیبه گفته به نظر گزرانید - (رباعی) برفیل سفید که میناد گزند الخ"

1. Vide fol. 41⁸ برفیل سفید که میناد گزند * شد شیفته در کس که ظاهر افکند

2. Cf. چون شاه جهان بر سر آمد توش * خورشید شد از سپیده * صبح بلند

3. Vide p. 411

QUDSI DID NOT BECOME KING OF POETS It is generally, yet wrongly, held that Qudsi enjoyed the lofty status of Malik-ush Shuarā. The reason of this misunderstanding has been aptly explained by the cataloguer of Bankipur Library in the following lines:¹

"The fact that Qudsi and Kalīm, both enjoying almost equal reputation, lived at the same time in the court of Shāhjahān, has led several biographers e.g. the authors of Riyāḍ-ush-Shuarā, Majma-un-Nafāis, Nishtar-i-Ishq etc.² to come to a false conclusion that Qudsi received the above title of Malik-ush-Shuarā from Shāhjahān." As a matter of fact he never became the poet-laureate. Even reliable contemporary writers like Amīnā Qazwīnī and Abd-ul-Hamīd Lahaurī have made no reference about the poet's said title. The most convincing explanation, in this connection, has been furnished by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ in his Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ in which he writes as follows, under the account of Abu Talīb Kalīm.³ "وبعد از خلوص مبارک ملازم سرکار"

خاصه شریفه گشته به تحریک بخت کارفرما چون گفتار من هوش فریب و دل آویزو

صبر من معنی رس و فیتن آموز بود به خطاب ملک الشعراء امتیاز یافت - اگرچه

استحقاق آن منصب بدیل القدر حاجی محمد جان قدس داشت اما ازین رو که

پیش از رسیدن حاجی اوبه این خطاب سرافرازی یافته بود تادم آخبر و بحال ماند و تغییر بدان راه نیافت -"

1. Vide Descriptive cat. iii, Persian poetry, p.74

2. Including those of Kalimat-ush-Shuarā, Mirāt-ul-Khayāl, Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb, Mirāt-i-Aftāb Numā, Tadhkira-i-Husaynī, Makhzan-ul-Gharāib, Nataij-ul-Afkār, Khulāṣah, Takmilat-ush-Shuarā, Tadhkirat-ush-Shuarā, Khulāṣat-ul-Kalām, Tadhkirah, Bāz-i-Tīmūriyā, Armughan-i-Pāk and T.W.Beale's 'An Oriental biographical dictionary'.

3. Vide Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ, iii, p.402

The parallel statements on Qudsi and Kalim occurring in Muhammad Sadiq's Subh-i-Sadiq¹ also prove that it was Kalim who became king of poets, and not Qudsi. Writing in A.H.1047 Muhammad Sadiq clearly states about Qudsi.

"حاجی محمد خان قدسی مشہدی اشہر شعرائے این زمان است - به ہند آمد و خدمت صاحبقران مل الہی گزید - و دو سال پیش ازین اورا بہ زر کشیدند - اکنون در دربارہ رالا است"

And about Kalim, the poet laureate, he writes:

"مولانا ابوصائب کلیم ہمدانی از مشاہیر شعرائے این زمان است - و اکنون ملک الشعرائے ہند است"

The authors of Riyāḍ-ush-Shuārā (fol.359), Takmilat-ush-Shuārā (p.488 under the account of Kalim) and Armughan-i-Pak (p.58) erroneously write that after the death of Qudsi Kalim became the poet-laureate. The fact is that Kalim was made poet-laureate in the life time of Qudsi and not after his death. Mirzā Ala-ud-Daulā Ashraf Ali Khān has gone too far to describe a very funny and incorrect episode about the conferment of the title of Malik-ush-Shuārā on Qudsi. What he says is to the effect that at the time of conferment of this title Kalim requested Shāhjahān to send for Qudsi from Iran as it was he (Qudsi) who was the deserving fellow and not himself. He writes:²

"از ثقات مروی ست کہ بادشاہ حم جاہ شاہ جہان بادشاہ طالب کلیم را بہ خطاب ملک الشعرائی مفتخر می ساخت - طالب کلیم عرض نمود کہ استاد من حاجی محمد خان قدسی در ولایت لائق ملک الشعرائی است اورا طلبیدہ بہ خطاب ملک الشعرائی معزز سازند - چنانچہ بہ موجب عرض کلیم قدسی را از ولایت طلبیدہ ملک الشعرائی نمودند"

1. Vide Aligarh Ms. fol.507

2. See Tadhkirat-ush-Shuārā, Rampur Ms. p.313.

The author of *Natāij-ul-Afkar* commits another error by saying that both Qudsi and Kalim simultaneously enjoyed the said title.¹

Character of Qudsi. There can possibly be no controversy about Qudsi's very high character as a man. He commanded respect of every one with whom he came in contact, not because of his literary attainments only but also because of his noble disposition. He has been highly praised by the authors of *Amal-i-Salih*, and the *Badshah-Namas*, equally for nobility of his character and prominence as a good poet. In contemporary sources of information² where there are parallel accounts of Qudsi and Kalim, Qudsi enjoys fore-most place in description even over Kalim, the king of poets at the Imperial court. Even Abu Talib Kalim (who was his compatriot poet at the court, and who seems to have been closely attached to Qudsi) has given a highly favourable, admiring and regardful estimation of Qudsi in his elegy written on the latter's death. It would be no exaggeration to say that among all the poets of Shahjahan's time the respectful position and honour which Qudsi held was unique. He was noted for his refined manners, vertuousness, godliness and piety. When these noble qualities be combined with his literary merits and achievements he presents himself as an ideal man. In fact, all that was good and loveable in his character was the result of his long association with a

1. See accounts of both Qudsi and Kalim

2. Special mention may be made of Aminā Qazwini and Lahauri's *Bādshāh-Nāmāh*, *Amal-i-Sālih* and *Subh-i-Sādiq*.

purely religious and holy environment. His sense of duty towards morals, his religious and spiritual tendencies helped him to inculcate in himself amiable features of human character. While in the midst of adversities and misfortunes, afflictions and miseries, he always showed a keen sense of contentment, and his poems bound in such allusions where Qudsi is found reposing in the happy reflection that the spiritual affinity with the Imam is the greatest source of gratification to his soul against all adversities.

However, Qudsi has been unanimously praised for his good character by contemporary as well as later authorities. Some selected views are adduced below to give some idea about Qudsi's character. Amina Qazwini states:¹

"مردے است در کمال صلاح و حسن خلق و آدمیت"

Abd-ul-Hamid Lahauri commends him as below:²

"حاجی محمد جان مشہدی قدسی تخلص - سعادت منشی و پاک گوہری از اصوار گزیدہ او ہوید است"

Muhammad Salih Kambu, while giving a very high estimate of

Qudsi's poetry also highly speaks about his character in the following way:³

"قدسی از متوطنان مشہد مقدس است و بہ نہایت مرتبہ تقدس ذات و پاکیزگی صفات و روح و تقوی متصف - صاحب صبح ستودہ است"

1. Badshah-Namah, (Appendix) Rampur Ms. No.2091

2. Badshah-Namah, ii, p.351

3. Amal-i-Salih, ii, p.397.

For sweetness of his temper, greatness of character, amiability of disposition, piety and courtesy in manners he has been justly commended by Taqī Auhādī in his Arafāt, who writes as below:¹

"خواجہ محمد جان قدس بہ عنایت خون صبیعت عالی فصرت صاحب خلق و آدمیت و مردمی است"

Tahir Naṣrabadī makes the following statement:

"حاجی محمد جان مشہدی قدس تخلص حقا کہ قدس خلقت مردم طینت بود"

Agha Ahmad Ali while quoting the views of Tahir Naṣrabadī about Mulla Shayda (another poet of Shahjahan's reign²) sets forth a high estimate of Qudsi's noble character in the following lines:³

"بسیار تند خو بوده - کم الفت بہ مردم می گرفت پیوستہ بہ محمد توحی از اقراں و امثال کہ حاجی محمد جان قدس و صائب کلیم است و ہر یک بہ صفات حمیدہ یگانہ آفاق اند می رسیدہ"

RELIGION There exists no clear allusion about the religious beliefs of Qudsi. There are certain presumptions which tell us that he was a member of Athna Ashariyā sect.⁴ There exists

1. See Arafat, vol. ii, fol. 596.

2. He has been dealt with under Chapter IV, 'Contemporary poets'.

3. Vide Haft Asman p. 138

4. Ibn-i-Yusuf Shirazi (cat. of the persian Mss. in the Library of Majlis-i-Shū'arā-i-Millī, Tehran) holds with conviction that Qudsi belonged to Shia faction because he has shown supernumerary sense of devotion to Hadrat Imām Ali Rida by repeatedly glorifying him in his eulogiums.

a story (although not very well grounded) which shows him to have been a staunch shia. This story finds expression in the words of Kishan Chand Ikhlas as below:¹

گویند هرگاه این شعر حاجی به سمع مبارک بادشاه رسید —
 فند چو مقرئ تسبیح در کلبه گره * مودنی که نکوید علی ولی الله
 بادشاه برهم شده از حاجی پرسیده این شعر از شعاست - عرض کرد حم ان بناء
 قبله دین و دنیا من این شعر در هندوستان نه گفته ام در عفاهان گفته ام ۲
 Fadl-Ali Khan has also written the same story. There is yet
 another clue which, although not a final verdict, goes to
 strengthen, in some measure, the presumption under discussion.
 In a line of a Qasidah addressed to his spiritual guide
 Qudsi makes the following remark:³

آن زهر که خوردی تو هنوز زائر آن * گر خاک شوم خاک دهد زهر کیا بر
 It can be deduced from this line that like every other
 other Shia he also believed that Hadrat Imam Ali Rida was
 poisoned.

Apart from these, no other express testimony can possibly be traced to give a decisive judgement regarding poet's faith.

DEATH. There are numerous versions about the year and place of Qudsi's death but certainly none is as reliable and authentic

1. Vide Hameshah-Bahar, fol. 70

2. Vide Bustan-i-Be-Khizan, p.314

3. Vide Diwan-i-Qudsi, Aligarh Ms. Fol.38^a

as that of Abū Tālib Kalīm according to whom Qudsi died at Lahore, A.H.1056.¹ The death year A.H.1055 given by Abū Tālib Isfahānī in his memoir *Khulāṣat-ul-Afkār*² is wrong.³ Abd-ul-Hamīd Lāhaurī's information in this connection, is a bit more detailed. He suggests not only the year and place but also the month and cause of Qudsi's death. Writing down the events of 1st of Rabi II he mentions as follows:⁴

"درین تاریخ به عرس اقدس رسید که حاجی محمد جان قدسی را که به مفاخر
گزاری خدیو اورنگ آرای فرنگ آما عزامتیا داشت به عارضه اسهال درد دارالسلطنة
بیمانه عمر برآمد"

As it appears from the above statement, the poet actually died at Lahore in the month of Rabi I, A.H.1056, most probably towards the end, on account of diarrhoea.

Qudsi not only died at Lahore but was also buried there

1. This has been in turn referred to and accepted by several writers such as Azād Bilgrāmī, Alā-ud-Daulā, Faḍl-ʿAlī Khān, Husayn Qulī Khān, ʿAlī Ibrāhīm Khān Khāḥīlī, Muḥammad Qudrat-ullāh, Aghā Aḥmad ʿAlī, Rieu, Ethe, and A.Sprenger.
2. Vide fol.147.
3. Ethe (I.O.L. cat. i. pp.345-350) is gravely mistaken to have accused Shēr Khān Lōdī, the author of *Mirāt-ul-Khayāl*, to speak of Qudsi's death after A.H.1069. The statement of Shēr Khān beginning: "بخش ها درین صاحبقران ثانی رادم شناسی" and ending: "شهر سینه الف" stands for Shanjahan and not for Qudsi. This date has been wrongly adhered to by the cataloguer of the Library of Majlis-i-Shūrā-i-Millī (p.379)
4. Vide *Bādshāh-Nāmāh*, ii, p.504

as is quite evident from the two following couplets of Abu Tālib Kalīm:¹

شد به لاهور گران گنج مہمانی در حاک * رفت تا حوس ولی غفلت نوحہ گری
and,

نہ نہد کس بہ سرتربت اوبار چراغ * می کند نور مہمانی ہمہ شب کار چراغ
Mir Alā-ud-Daulā² wrongly believes that Qudsi died at Kashmir.³

Apart from the date, there are several conflicting opinions also about the burial place of the poet which need thorough discussion. Alā-ud-Daulā⁴ opines that the poet not only died in Kashmir but was also buried there and that later on his remains were taken away to Mashhad. The writer has, probably, put together the views of poet Ghani of Kashmir

1. Vide the elegy on Qudsi's death, in the form of a Tarkīb-Band, in Tadhkira-i-Shuara-i-Madiah, account of Kalīm; see also Diwan-i-Kalīm, personal Ms. copy of Agha Said Nafisi fol. nil, and also recently published diwan of Qasidas, Ghazaliyat, Mathnawiyat, and Muqataat of Abu Talib Kalīm, edited by Baydāi (Haydari press, Tehran).
2. Vide Tadhkirat-ush-Shuara, p.313
3. Rieu (Br.Museum cat. ii, p.634), while referring to and accepting the view of Sirāj, (Awadh cat. p.151) holds that Qudsi spent the last years of his life in Kashmir where he died A.H.1056: Further, he states that Sher Khān Lōdī in his Mirāt-ul-Khayāl has given A.H.1055 as the year of Qudsi's death. But the Ms. copy of the same (Mirāt-ul-Khayāl) which has been under my study at the Aligarh University Mss.Library does not speak about Qudsi's death at all.
4. Vide Tadhkirat-ush-Shuara, p.313.

and Tahir of Nasrabad. In a fragment written on the death of Abu Talib Kalim the former has pointed out that he (Kalim) was buried close to the grave of Qudsi, situated at Srinagar, Kashmir.¹ Mirza Tahir Nasrabadi states that Qudsi's remains

1. It is an authenticated fact that Kalim spent the last days of his life in Kashmir, while engaged in writing the poetical record of Shahjahan, and he finally died there. In this connection, Mulla Tahir Ghani of Kashmir writes as follows:

حیف کزد یوار این گلشن پرید * حالبا آن بلبل باغ نعیم
 عمر ها در یاد اوزیر زمین * خاک بر سر کرده قدسی و سلیم
 عاقبت از اشتیاق یکدگر * گشته اند این هر سه در یکجا مقیم
 گفت تاریخ وفات او غنی * طور معنی بود روشن از کلیم

The last hemistich gives, however, A.H.1061 as the date of Kalim's death. It is, probably, this fragment of Ghani which has led several later authorities to adhere to the fact that Qudsi is buried at Srinagar, Kashmir. Two distinguished scholars and writers of today namely Ali Asghar Hikmat, former Iranian Ambassador in India, in his article entitled 'مقتضی های پارسى برا حجار' (Indo-Iranica), June, 1957, Persian section p.17, and Shaykh Muhammad, Ikrām (Armughāni-Pak, p.59) have respectively given the following descriptions about the grave-yard known as 'Mazār-ush-Shuarā' where as they believe, Qudsi is laid to eternal rest. The former writes:

"مزارالشعرا در کشمیر - در شهر سرى نگر پایه تخت کشمیر در موسوم به درگجن (Dargah) در مشرق دریاچه معروف دال (نال) بر سر پشته مرتفعی که متجاوز از یک صد پا ارتفاع دارد محلیست محصور و اطراف آن سبزه و گل فراوان و در وسط پنج قبر نمایان است که بعضی بکلی ساده و بدون خط و کتبه است و یک قبر که اندک نقوش بر آن باقی مانده و یکی به کلی غیر مقرواست - و این مقبره هم اکنون به مزارالشعرا و در سرى نگر مشهور است که بعضی شعرا عهد جهانگیری و شاه جهان درین جا مدفون شده اند - این پنج طاهره متعلق است به -

(۱) کلیم همدانی (۲) محمد قلی سلیم

(۳) صفرائی مشهدی (۴) قدسی مشهدی

(۵) یک نفر دیگر غیر معلوم که ممکن است شاه ابوالفتح قیلانی باشد - نویسنده این سطور در تیر ماه ۱۹۵۵ م - به زیارت آن مقبره نائل گردید "

were transferred to Mashhad.¹ In fact, certainty cannot be attached to any of these two views. If we assume that Qudsi is buried in Kashmir we will have to admit the probability of Qudsi's remains being carried away to Kashmir afterwards², because, in view of Kalim's sound testimony, Qudsi's death and burial at Lahore is certain.³ However, Qudsi's internment in Kashmir is a very remote possibility. As for

(In continuation of the preceding page)

(The humble writer of these lines has also visited the place. There is no clear indication about Qudsi's grave being situated there. It appears that the learned writer of the above quoted article has drawn the conclusion from certain traditional beliefs or from Ghani's fragment which he has cited under Kalim's account in that very article.

Having a similar opinion the author of Armughan-i-Pak writes:

"سری نگر میں ایک قبرستان مزارالشعرا کے نام سے مشہور ہے - یہاں قدسی اور محسن فانی کے ساتھ کلیم بھی مدفون ہیں"

1. Vide his Tadhkirah, (Tehran edition, p.225)
2. Azad Bilgrami in his Sarw-i-Azad has judiciously summarised all the possibilities and he writes as below:

"..... انتقال او در سنہ ست و خمسين والف اتفاق افتاد و کلیم در مریہ* او ترکیب بندے گفتہ و تاریخ جنین یافتہ - مصرع - دورازان بلبل قدسی چمن زندان شد - شیخ عبدالحمید گوید کہ قدسی بہ عارضہ* اسہال درد دارالسلطنہ لاہور درگزشت و غنی کشمیری در قطعہ تاریخ وفات کلیم گوید:-

عمرها در یاد اوزیر زمین * خاک بر سر کرد قدسی و سلیم
عاقبت از اشتیاق یکدگر * گشته اند این ہر سہ در یکجا مقیم

ظاہر منصوص عبارت ہمین است کہ ہر سہ در یکجا مدفون اند و این وقتی تواند شد کہ حد قدسی را بہ کشمیر نقل کردہ باشند - و میرزا صاہر نصر آبادی می نویسد کہ استخوان او را بہ مشہد مقدس رسانیدند "

3. Apart from the two couplets of Kalim already quoted, the following, in this connection, is equally important and deserves mention:

Tahir Nasrabadi's view of Qudsi's remains being transferred to Mashhad, we have no definite ground to believe,¹ as he has committed other chronological and factual blunder by holding Qudsi as a contemporary and rival poet with Talib-i-Amuli at the Mughal court.² Full statement of Tahir is quoted below:

"قدسی ازین وہ بیت دل گیر شد و به هند رفت - کمال عزت و قرب و منزلت داشت
 به حدی که طالبی^۳ آملی به منصب ملک الشعرائی ممتاز بود جهت مراعات اود در ریارساهی
 پائین گریست او را می آیدند"

The above statement has been categorically discarded by Khan-i-Arzu and Ali Ibrahim Khan Khalil.³

LAST DAYS OF QUDSI

Through internal source we come to know that the closing phase of Qudsi's life was very distressing for him. He had become old and feeble. The growing general infirmity, consequent upon old age and a strong yearning for going back to his home had completely overpowered him. About his old age

- 1- It appears that quite later authors like Luft-i-Ali Beg Adhar (Atishkadah, Aligarh Ms. p.73), Siddiq Hasan Khan (Shām-i-Anjuman, p.390), and Ibn-i-Yūsuf Shirāzi (cat. of the Persian Mss. in the Library of Majlis-i-Shūrā-i-Millī, Tehran, pp.379-80) have taken for granted Nasrabādī's view without scrutinising facts.
2. Talib of Amul who became the poet-laureate of Jahāngir after Ghazālī of Mashhad died A.H.1036, according to the contemporary version of Nāẓim of Tabriz, who in his Naẓm-i-Guzīdah furnishes the following information about Talib and his death.

"و در خدمت شاه سلیم به خطاب ملک الشعرائی محاصوب گردید و کمال عزت و احترام به اود نمود و در سنه ۱۰۲۶ هزار و سی و شان خبر فوت اوبه گوش هوش رسید و داغ آلام کهنه را تازه ساخت"

3. Vide Majma-un-Nafāis and Khulāsat-ul-Kalām, respectively.

he expresses thus in the following quatrains:¹

دربرخ من ضعف کشاد از پیری * حاصل که بود مرگ مراد از پیری
هرچند شود عمر زیاد از پیری * داد از پیری هزار داد از پیری
As for his earnest desire to return to his native land

he refers to it in the following quatrains:²

زین بیان به هند بود نم دل کویت * از بندرسورت گزم مطلوب است
این راه به تحت باره صے می کرد * آری در باغ را کلبه از چوب است
And,

در هندی و مرغ دل خورد دانه صوس * مرغ دلم آرزو کند از زن صوس
از رزم اگر دانه چیز با قیست * یارب تو کنی برات بر خرمین صوس
And, in the following quatrain which reveals a true state

of his mind and feelings, he once again seeks help from
his lord:³

در گلشن غریبم حو بلبل به قفس * حب الوطنم برده زد دل ذوق و هوس
ضعفم به نمان ربار غریب بسیار * یا شاه عریان توبه فریادم رس

Unfortunately the desire was never fulfilled. Cherishing an everlasting love for his dear mother country in his heart, he died in a foreign land which gave him every thing—fair renown, honour, wealth and riches, but—peace of mind, tranquillity of heart, and gratification of soul. For a long span of more than fifty years of his life in Persia, he was,

1. Vide Diwan-i-Qudsi, Rampur Ms. No.3484, p.693

2. Ibid pp.597 and 648

3. Ibid, p.648

unluckily, destined to have lived a dissatisfied life and when he visited an alien country and succeeded in making good for what he had not been able to get in his own home-land, old age, sickness, and above all, irresistible love for his mother-land, made his last days cumbursome. It was nothing but irony of fate and circumstances.

DESCENDENTS.

Of the descendents of Qudsi, we know about his two sons with certainty, namely Moḥammad Bāqir and Abd-ul-Wasī. The former about whom we have already had ~~passing~~ reference on some previous occasion had died a premature death at the age of twenty years,¹ at Maṣḥḥad. He was probably, Qudsi's eldest son² and, as has been expressed by the poet himself in a Qasīdah and other elegies written on his death, Qudsi's love for him and grief over his tragic passing away knew no bounds. Muḥammad Bāqir was already married and also had left children to live after him.³ From other internal

1. Cf: زیست ساله جگر گوشه ام ندانستم * شود اسیر به داغ هزار ساله جگر
(Vide elegy written on Muḥammad Bāqir's death, Diwān-i-Qudsi, Aligarh Ms. fol.35^b)
2. Cf: نخست مصرعه بیت القسید * چگونه شد که چنین گشت محو از دفتر
(Vide the same elegy fol.36^b)
3. Cf: گفتم از روز فرزندان خود داری خبر * گفت روزی هم که بودم با خواشان کار بود
(Vide elegy on Muḥammad Bāqir's death, Diwān-i-Qudsi, Aligarh Ms. fol.80^b.)

references made by Qudsi himself it can be inferred that he was also a talented poet, and a keen eulogist of Ḥadrat Imām Ālī Ridā¹, like his father.

As for Abd-ul-Wāsi', Qudsi's younger son, we know with certainty that he came to India during the reign of emperor Aurangzēb and was in the service of Zēb-un-Nisā Bēgam, Aurangzēb's daughter, as the superintendent of Zargar-Khanah. Also being a poet he had the title 'Aqdas' as his penname. He died towards the end of Aurangzēb's reign.²

The author of *Yad-i-Baydā* has quoted the following line of a short mathnawī, composed by Aqdas.

دران گلشن شمار بید مجنون * ز تار زلف لیلی بوده افزون

The author of *Bagh-i-Ma'ānī* has also referred to this Mathnawī of Aqdas and has adduced the same line as above.

The fact that he was Qudsi's son has been mentioned by Aqdas himself, with a note of pride, in the following quatrain:³

از من عیب نیست سخن ها بلند * کز نسبت قلسی ست به قدم پیوند
بے عرفه کنم نقد سخن صرف آری * قدر زر میراث نه داند فرزند

Other verses composed by Aqdas and referred to by the authors of *Bagh-i-Ma'ānī*, *Safīnah*, *Suhuf-i-Ibrāhīm*, *Takmilat-ush-Shuarā* and *Bustān-i-Bekhizān* are as follows:

به مکتب می رود از خانه بهتر می کند بازی * معلم گوید سرکن قلم سرمی کند بازی
خیال او نه می گیرد دمی آرام در چشم * بدریا چون رود طفل شناور می کند بازی

1. Cf: نهال قدس سق محمد باقر * تناسر از علی ابن موسی جعفر (Diwān-i-Qudsi, Aligarh Ms. fol. 36^b)

2. *Yad-i-Baydā*, *Suhuf-i-Ibrāhīm*, *Bustān-i-Bē-Khizān*, *Bagh-i-Ma'ānī*, *Safīnah* and *Takmilat-ush-Shuarā*.

3. Vide *Takmilat-ush-Shuarā*, *Bagh-i-Ma'ānī*, and *Safīnah*.

In addition to these the author of Safinah has quoted an another single line which is given below:

ابرگوهر بارگريد اول آخر و اشود * گريه بر احوال خود نا کرده خندیدن چرا
 Abu Talib in his Khulasat-ul-Afkar¹ has quoted three

single verses of three different ghazals and those are:

عمر به هيچ مي رود رحم و حفا² يار کو * وصل سبت عنان چه شد هجر گران وقار کو
 نرم شو کز سخت روايان کار صورت گير نيست * خامه³ فولاد هرگز لائق تصوير نيست
 پرتو خورشيد را آئينه ساز دگر تر * مهر کم را سينه عافي ها فراوان مي کند
 The style of the poetry of Aqdas, as can be gathered

from the pattern just presented, resembles that of his father and it appears that he takes special delight in dealing with Mithaliyah a poetical device of comparing and providing a fact by other visible and external objects.

About Qudsi's descendents, Tahir Nasrabadi² has also spoken of his two sons and other relations. He states:

" در ايام حيات مبلغی کلی جهت بازماندگان خود که دو پسر و جماعت ديگر بودند
 فرستاده دران ولايت فوت شده "

As he does not mention the names, it cannot be said whether he is referring to Muhammad Baqir and Abdul Wasi or to any other of Qudsi's son or sons besides these two.

1. Fol. 224

2. Vide his Tadhkirah.

CHAPTER IV

CONTEMPORARY POETS OF QUDSI

A discourse on Qudsi would not be complete if mention is not made about Qudsi's contemporary poets who lived in the Court of Shahjahan. There are many of them. But for our purposes it would suffice if, out of them all, only these are taken up here who, on account of their poetical achievements and their association in certain respects with Qudsi have been dealt with in some memoirs along with Qudsi. These poets are:

Abu Talib Kalim

Abul Barkat, poetically named Munir of Lahore

Mulla Shayda, and

Mulla Tughra of Mashhad.

ABU TALIB KALIM Foremost place is to be given to Kalim, the poet laureate. He was a native of Nandan, but because he had lived at Kashan for a long time he had become famous as Kashani. His date of birth is not known but he had lived at least for seventy years as is evident from the following line:

هفتاد ساله طفلی چون تو دگر ندیدم * ز خاکبازی تن کار دگر نه داری

It is certain that he died A.H. 1061. He must, therefore, have been born near about A.H. 992. He spent his early youth at Shiraz in acquiring education. From there he seems

to have come to India for the first time during Jahangir's reign.¹ Haji Mulla Muhammad Sadiq, poetically named Nazim of Tabriz in his memoir *Nazm-i-Guzidah* introduces Kalim as a Kashani. He also speaks of his early stay at Shiraz, of his journey from Shiraz to India, of his access to the court of Shah Nawaz Khan the Safawi (son of Mirza Rustam Safawi) and of his jointing (after Shah Nawaz Khan's death) the court of Mirza Muhammad Shahrستاني who was then at Golkunda. Nazim also speaks about Kalim's return to Iraq in A.H.1028 and his meeting with him at Isfahan, Kalim proceeded towards India and he moved to Macca. Full statement of Nazim runs as follows:²

"کلیم - نام از ابوالب کاشانی است - جوان صاحب ادراک است - و در
 اوائل شعور در شیراز بوده و از آنجا به هند متوجه شد - و در خدمت شاه نواز
 خان نشو و نما یافته بعد از فوت شاه نواز خان منصور نظر تربیت میرزا محمد امین
 شهرستانی که در گلکنده میر حمله بود گشته - در شاعری ها از اقربان اختر یزدی
 و رونقی همدانی است - بلکه در آن صریح چند قدم از ایشان پیش است -
 و در سنه ۱۰۲۸ هـ به عراق معاودت نمود و در اصفهان فقیر به ملاقات ایشان رسیده
 و مدت دو سال به رفاقت و مصاحبت این حقیر قناعت می نمود تا آنکه در سنه
 ۱۰۳۰ هـ هزار و سی آن متوجه هند و بنده متوجه مکه معظمه شده "

1. This whole information is based on Dr. Amir Hasan Abidi's article entitled 'Abu Talib Kalim of Kashan', *Indo-Iranica*, September, 1957.

2. Vide *Nazm-i-Guzidah*, Aligarh Ms. No.920/23 fol.186.

On his arrival in India, Kalim had at first joined Jahangir's armies on some very low rank but because he was quite inexperienced and simply a beginner both in practical affairs of life as well as in poetry, he could not prosper and, consequently, the period of his youth had been unhappy. About this he writes:

شدم گرد در جوانی پیرشادم کز سر حسرت * نخواهم یاد کردن رونق عهد جوانی را
While on his way to joining the court of Shah Nawaz Khan at Bijapur, he was arrested on the suspicion of being a spy and was for sometime imprisoned in the fort of Shahadrak.¹ While he was returning to Iraq he was of a heavy heart and his reluctance to leave India is well expressed in the following famous lines which he had composed at the time of departure:

اسیر هندم وزین رفتن بیجا بشیمانم * کجا خواهد رساندن پرفشانی مرغ بسمل را
به ایران می رود نالان کلیم از شوق همراهان * به پای دیگران هم جو خوشی صحرای کرده منزل را
ز شوق هندزان سان چشم حسرت در قفادام * که رو هم گریه آم نه می بینم مقابل را

As already pointed out in the words of Nazim of Tabriz, Kalim could not resist the temptation of coming back to India once again.² He joined Shahjahan's court after the

1. See Dr. Abidi's article, Indo-Iranica, Sept. 1957.

2. The author of Khulasat-ul-Afkar is mistaken to have written that he came back to India during Shahjahan's reign. In fact, when he had returned from Iran in A.H.1030 it was still Jahangir's reign.

latter's coronation in A.H.1037, probably between the period of A.H.1037 and 1040. As for the preceding period he was with Mir Jumla¹ at the Deccan and it was, probably through him that he could have access to the Emperor's court. Shortly afterwards, he was made the poet-laureate. Khafi Khan writes in his Muntakhab-ul-Lubab² that when a white elephant was sent to the emperor as a token of presentation, he was much pleased to see it and named it as Gajpat. When the Emperor mounted that white elephant as a joy ride Kalim the poet-laureate composed and read out impromptu the following Rubai³ on that occasion and was rewarded by the king. The Rubai in question is quoted below:

برفیل سفید که میناد گزند * شد بخت بلند هر که اودیده فکند
چون شاه جهان برزیر آمد کوئی * خورشید شد از سپیده صبح بلند

On the occasion when the king of Turkey reproachingly questioned the Emperor for adopting the title of Shahjahan, (king of the world) while he was only 'king of India'. Kalim put him in cheer by arguing that since the numerical values of the words Hind (India) and Jahan (the world) were equal (59 and 59) the Emperor was justified in calling him 'the king of the world.' The line composed by Kalim is as follows:

هند و جهان زرقه عدد چون یکے است * شه را خطاب شاه جهانی مبرهن است

1. Amal-i-Salih, iii, p.402

2. Vide p.411 (accounts of the third year of Shahjahan's reign)

3. This has been wrongly attributed to Qudsi by Mir Afdal Sarkhosh in his Kalimat-ush-Shuara.

هند و جهان زرقه عدد چون برابر است * بر ما خطاب شاه جهان زان مسلم است

The Emperor sent the same line¹ in reply to the king of Turkey and weighed the poet laureate against silver.² On numerous festive occasions, such as Nauroz, weighing ceremony of the king, and his coronation on the peacock throne, Kalim wrote laudatory poems and was handsomely rewarded. On the happy occasion when Id and Nauroz had luckily coincided and the Emperor had returned from Kashmir to celebrate his coronation on the peacock throne he was weighed against silver for composing a Qasidah, in A.H.1044, and the value thereof amounting to Rs.5,500/- was given to him.³ He again received Rs.1,000/- and 200 gold muhurs in A.H.1049, and 200 gold muhurs in A.H.1055.⁴ Later he was entrusted by the Emperor with the task of writing poetical Badshah-Namah.⁵ Writing in or in the vicinity of A.H.1047 Qazwini in his Badshah-Namah⁶ states as follows:

" ودرین اوقات اونیز لآلی مضمون صدق مشحون بادشاه نامه را به رشته نظم
می کشد و این دو کتاب که او و حاجی محمد خان قدسی نظم می کنند بعد از
اتمام مقبول حاسی و عام خواهد بود "

1. This line has been written thus in Nigaristan-i-Fars (p.186):

2. Nataij-ul-Afkar, by Qudrat-ullah.

3. Nishtar-i-Ishq, p.1151

4. Lahauri's Badshah Namah, vol.1, part ii, pp.83-4, and vol.ii, pp.420 and 468.

5. Amal-i-Salih iii, p.402

6. Rampur Ms. No.2091, Appendix p.375.

It means that by this time(i.e. A.H.1047) both Qudsi and Kalim were simultaneously engaged in composing poetical records of Shahjahan's reign and that the work was still in progress, and had not been completed when Kalim took permission from his sovereign to go and settle down at Kashmir and complete the Badshah-Namah there. The information furnished in this connection by Muhammad Salih goes in the following way:¹

" حسب الحکم اقدس چندی به جهت نظم بادشاهنامه بود تا آن

هنگام که بهار مانند در گلشن جاوید ربیع کشمیر توغن اختیار

نمود و رقم سنجان دیوان قضا بروق حیاتان خط کشیدند "

As is obvious from the above he died in Kashmir. The chronogram which gives A.H.1061 as the year of his death is written by poet Ghani of Kashmir.² According to the statements of Ghani³ and the authors of Nataij-ul-Afkar, Nishtar-i-Ishq and Sham-i-Anjuman, he was buried in Kashmir close to the

1. Vide Amal-i-Salih, iii, p.402; See also Famus-i-Khayal, Tadhkirat-ush-Shaura and Nishtar-i-Ishq.

2. The author of Mirat-ul-Khayal wrongly states that he died in A.H.1062.

3. Cf. the following lines of his fragment written on Kalim's death:

عمرها دریا او زیر زمین * خاک بر سر کرده قدسی و سلیم
عاقبت از اشتیاق یکدگر * اند این هر سه در یک جا مقیم
گفت تاریخ وفات او غنی * صور معنی بود روشن از کلیم

Dr. Abidi in his article on Kalim (Indo-Iranica, Sept. 1957) precisely writes that Kalim's death took place on 15th Dhil Hijjah, A.H.1061.

grave of Ali Quli Salim of Tehran.¹

While in Kashmir Kalim received regular allowance from his king. There he also enjoyed the benevolent as well as literary and intellectual company of Zafar Khan Ahsan, the then governor of Kashmir.

Kalim enjoyed love and favour of the king as well as that of other contemporary poets, excepting some like Shayda who envied him because of his high status and poetical accomplishments. About those who maliciously criticised his poetry, he thus writes in a poetic way.²

دخل بیجا همه جا در سخن من آید * این مکتب لازم شیرینی گفتار من است

As usual, Kalim has been highly praised by the author of

Amal-i-Salih in the following words:

" شاعر-جادو فن تازه گفتار است و بناے سخن از منانت فکر فک آهنگ مستحکم
واستوار - سخنان پخته است و به میزان اندیشه بر سخته - هر چه گفته همه
متین و دل نشین و عبارت صاف و مفید رنگین "

The author of Khulasat-ul-Afkar gives the following estimate:

" ابو طالب کلیم از ولایت سمدان است - از سهت یافتن معانی

بسیار او را حلق المعانی ثانی گویند "

1. The author of Nishtar-i-Ishq correctly repudiates the opinion of Sher Khan Lodi who writes in his Mirat-ul-Khayal that Kalim's grave is situated in one of the villages of Lahore.

2. All these statements are based on and derived from Dr. Abidi's article, Indo-Iranica, September 1957.

The author of Riyāḍ-ush-Shu'ara writes:

" میرزا ابوصالب کلیم - کلیم صور مہنی پروری و حلیل خوان سخن وری است - بلند فکر ت بودہ - اگرچہ در علوم کم مایہ است لیکن در شاعری قدرت تمام داشتہ واقسام شعر را خوب م گفتہ - و در مثنوی شہنشاہ نامہ کہ بہ جہت شاہ جہان بادشاہ گفتہ است اشعار بلند بسیار است "

Shibli in his *Shir-ul-Ajam*¹ has made a critical and comprehensive study of his poetry, and has separately dealt with every form which Kalim has picked up, namely Qasidah, ghazal, and Mathnawi. According to him, Kalim's style resembles Qudsi's in Qasidah-writing. Shibli explains his argument in this way:

" قصیدہ مین حاجی محمد جان قدسی کا انداز ہے - یعنی عرفی اور نظیری کی پیچ دار اور مشکل بندشیں صاف کردین اور مبالغہ اور حسن تعلیل کو وسعت دی لیکن اس کے ساتھ قصیدہ کی متانت زور اور بلندی کم ہوتی گئی اور غزلیت کا رنگ غالب آ گیا "

The above view of Shibli is, in fact, very sound and balanced and cannot be questioned in any way. The poetic form known as Qasidah was on decline. It was the age of the supremacy of the ghazal. The traditional as well as technical beauties of a Qasidah were so completely rendered by Urfi and Faydi that there was left very little scope for any further improvement on that.

1. Vol. iii pp.190-208

The main achievement of Kalim's poetry in 'originality of concept' and it is found in panegyrics, odes and couplet poems equally. Under this head Dr. Hadi Hasan has quoted following lines as specimens¹

ماز آغاز و ز انجام جهان بی خبریم * اول و آخر این کهنه کتاب افتادست
 وضع زمانه قابل دیدن دوباره نیست * روپس نکرد شرکه ازین خاکدان گزشت
 بی دیده راه اگر نتوان رفت پس چرا * چشم از جهان چو پستی از وی توان گزشت
 این قدر فرق میان خط یک کاتب چیست * سرنوشت همه کراز قلم تقدیر است
 به عهد آن چنان در خواب امن است * که باید پاسبانی پاسبان را
 هر کس اگر به قدر هنر بهره یافتی * بایستی آب بحر نصیب گهر شود
 ناشد مزه بی اشک فتاد از نظرمین * اکنون چه کنم رشته که وقتی گهری داشت
 شکر چشم تو کند محتسب شهر کزو * هر کجا میکند هست حراب افتادست
 میان غم گساران سوزم از غم * چو آن کشتی که در دریا به سوزد
 زود آمدنت نظر بشوقم دیر است * از زود اگر زود تر آئی چه شود

Undoubtedly, Kalim's main field is Ghazal. Shibli believes that ghazal-writers who preceded him such as Urfi, Naziri,

1. See 'Mughal poetry' pp.27-28.

Talib-i-Āmulī, Wahsī and Maylī had enriched their ghazals with different peculiarities of their own such as philosophy pure lyricism, and beauty of metaphors, but Kalim's ghazals possess all these beauties combined together,¹ but the most dominating feature in which he has specialised is the same 'originality and novelty of concept' which has just been referred to above. Shiblī further remarks that another salient feature of his poetry is Mithaliyah which was, in fact, originated by him and no body else.²

There is a marked display of local colour in his poetry. He has used many Hindi words which bespeak of his interest in Indian culture as well as indicate the intermixture of the two languages. It also proves the influence of Hindi Language over Persian and the susceptibility and flexibility of the latter to welcome and digest foreign element. Shiblī has quoted eight verses in each of which a Hindi word has been used. These words are:

تنبولی دھویں بٹھانی راجپوت جنبہ یا چمپہ مولسری گڑھل نیم
Shiblī does not approve of his Mathnawīs. He is of the opinion that it had since long gone into a state of degeneration, and, therefore, Kalim too has not been able to make any distinctive mark in that field. He rather calls his mathnawīs of a low standard. But Muhammad Husayn Azād

1. Although, as Shiblī thinks, those lack lyricism, and this is correct.'

2. Cf: "مثالیہ جو عائب کا خاص انداز ہے اسکی ابتداء بھی کلیم ہی نے کی"

in his *Nigaristan-i-Fars*¹ writes that Kalim has composed some very fine mathnawis on several topics such as praise of Akbar-Abad (Agra), famine of the Deccan, Kashmir etc. Kalim has also given a fine and faithful description, in a mathnawi, of prince Aurangzeb's combat with a furious elephant when he was only twelve years of age. In this connection he writes:

ستان در تن تیره شد نهان * دگر باره در رفت آمدن به کان

The chief mathnawi-work on which greatly rests Kalim's fame and which is a valuable historical record of poetry of the reign of Shahjahan, is his *Badshah-Namah* which contains, according to the author of *Bazm-i-Timuriyah*,² chronological accounts upto A.H.1046.³ Kalim has also written various fragments and quatrains on common topics such as ring, inkpot, boat, gun etc. etc.⁴ It simply shows his minuteness of observation and urge for dealing with objects of every day life. In this respect he may be called to be a revolutionary poet who has, as Shibli observes, used various commercial terms, names of several Indian vocations, flowers, and fruits against

1. Vide p.186

2. Vide p.183

3. The author of *Bazm-i-Timuriyah* states that Kalim composed the said Mathnawi in imitation to Qudsi's *Zafar Nama-i-Shahjahan* which contains accounts upto A.H.1047. But from Amina Qazwini's remark it appears that both Qudsi and Kalim were simultaneously engaged in writing two independent works, and quite apparently both the poets were committed to this task under Shahjahan's orders simultaneously. Moreover, it is meet to point out that Kalim joined the Court earlier than Qudsi.

4. *Shfrul-Ajam*, iii, p.190;

the traditional practice of other Iranian poets who flourished in India.¹

Every authority on Kalim has spoken of him as being a man of good nature and noble character. Dr. Abidi in his article on Kalim² states:

"و او با این که در منصب ملک الشعرائی می توانست خوب با آنها مقابله کند اما به اقتضای صفت پاک و خلعت پسندیده ای که داشت خرد هیچ گاه در پیشی آزار دیگران نه می گشت - دالغ خصم شکن در دمه میدان دادم
این هنرمین که به کس دست و گریبان نه شدم" ³ Qazwini writes:

"و غایت بر تعلق و مذهب الاخلاق و خوی صحبت است"

In fact he very much resembled Qudsi in character and it was probably due to this similarity and harmony of natures that both of them seem to have been not only acquainted but also on very good friendly terms, with each other.⁴ It also appears that both Qudsi and Kalim enjoyed each other's company very frequently, and both of them recited their poems as a good pastime. To give a true picture of the relations which existed between the two, of respect and sense of admiration which Kalim had for Qudsi and his elevated poetry, and finally, of his heart-felt grief over Qudsi's death the entire text of the elegy ⁵

1. Shirul-Ajam p.190

2. Indo-Iranica Sept.1957

3. Vide Bādshah-Namah, Rampur Ms.No.2091(appendix p.875)

4. The author of Makhzan-ul-Gharaib is mistaken to have called Kalim a pupil of Qudsi. The misunderstanding is probably due to the fact that in his elegy Kalim has, more than once termed Qudsi as ^{استار سخن} simply out of respect.

5. For this elegy, see account of Kalim in Tadhkira-i-Shuara-i-Madiah(Habibganj Ms) and recently published diwan of Qasidas, Ghazaliyat, Mathnawiyat, and Muqattaat of Abu Talib Kalim

written by Kalim is reproduced below:

چون ننالم که خزان کرد گلستان سخن * رفت در موسم گل رونق بستان سخن
 در بهارے که شود نقی قدم چشم براه * رفت در خاک فرو چشمه حیوان سخن
 صالب گوهر معنی به کجا روی دهد * روی در خاک نهان کرد جو عمان سخن
 تیره شد مشرق خورشید معانی افسوس * محو شد مطلع برجسته دیوان سخن
 سروسر دفتر شیرین سخنان قدسی رفت * تلخ و رکام جهان شد شکرستان سخن
 شعر را گاه رقم فاعله از مصرع نیست * گشته در ماتم او پاره گریبان سخن
 سینه چاک قلم رخت سیاه معنی * از چه باشد بحر از ماتم حسان سخن
 شعر موزون نتوان کرد که از نظم افتاد * کشور معنی ازین رفتن سلحان سخن
 پای تا سر همه چون سلسله آیم به قفان * چون بیاد آیدم آن سلسله جنبان سخن
 از سردرد جو بر حال سخن گریه کنم * خون شود گوهر معنی همه درکان سخن
 بود باریک ره فکر و کنون شد تاریک * رفت بر باد فنا شمع شهبستان سخن

بوی گلزار تقدس به دماغس جو رسید

بلبل قدس ازین گلشن دل گیر پرید

بلبل قدس وداع حمن دنیا کرد * بال پرواز سفر بیشتر (بیمتر) از گل وا کرد
 خار گلزار وطن دامن انسانی نه کشید * هر که در گلشن بی خار فنا ماوی کرد
 شیشه زندگی قدسی اگر خورد به سنگ * در عود ناله ماخون به دل خارا کرد
 بر یکی زخم زدن رفتن خون از حد دل * نازه سحر بست که جادوی اجل پیدا کرد
 کرد آخر سخن از شوق خموشی کوتاه * آنکه عمری به جهان شعر بلند انشا کرد
 خود چرا بحر معانی بسرائی تن داد * آنکه حد دیده توانست زغم دریا کرد
 رفت و ماهم وطنان رابه نوائی ننواخت * اشتیاق و صفت بین که چه بی پروا کرد
 غم گسار همه کس بود جواز طینت پاک * عالمی را فلک از فوت تن تنها کرد
 شیشه زندگی را زده ایام به سنگ * که حق از میکرده قدس دران عهبا کرد
 گاه پرواز پرید از همه پیوند و پرید * بال مقراض شد و قطع تعلقها کرد

(In continuation of the preceding page)

Kalim (edited by Baydai and printed at the Haydari Press, Iran)
 I have had the privilege of making a study of this important
 elegy in a Ms. diwan of Kalim, belonging to Prof. Agha Said Nafisi
 This long elegy which is in the form of a Tarkib Band is
 divided into nine parts (Bands). That which is written in
 Tadhkira-i-Shu'ara-i-Madiah is incomplete and contains only 8
 parts and certain lines even in those eight are missing. There
 are several scriptural errors also. The elegy written in Agha
 Said Nafisi's Ms. diwan is, apparently, complete and is divided
 into nine parts, each part containing twelve lines.

به محیطی که فلک ها صدف گوهر راوست * رفت غواص معانی و وطن آنها کرد

معنی در بیتی که نه می فهمیدم

یافتم رفت چو قدسی و سخن را دیدم

رفت قدسی زمین ماند بجا شعر ترس * ابر را کاس که می بود بقای گهرش

نیست در باغ بهان غیر سخن و نخلی * که اگر خشک شود تازه بماند نمرش

• باغبان سزدار تا به ابد خون گرید * خشک آردید نهالی که گهر بود برش

بلبل از چمن قدسی اجل کرد شکار * که شگفتی گل این نه چمن از یاد پرش

• آن نهالی که نبود آب گهر لائق او * بست دهقان اجل آب به با از تبرش

چرخ زد زخم جفا که دلش خالی شد * چه عجب کم شد از خمی اجل هنرش

آب برداشتن زخم بلا دگر است * تازه شد داغ دل عم زده از شعر ترش

چه عجب گر شود از اشک قلم باز سفید * کلاه معنی که قضا کرد سیه بام و درش

خامه هر که بود هر چه ندارد پس ازین * از عبار دل خود خاک نشاند بسترش

شد به لاهورگران کنج معانی در خاک * رفت تا صوم ولی غفله نوحه گرش

پس خبر رفت به آن ملک که تا خود نروم * نتوان یافتن از نامه و قاصد خبرش

داغ بی مرهمی ارباب سخن را سوزد

که بر آن گرنهی انگشت چو شعاع افروزد

کمی ز دل کلفت این حادثه کم تر گردد * مگر آن روز که قدسی ز سفر بر گردد

من گرفتم که فلک فکر تلاقی دارد * راحتی کو که بدین رنج برابر گردد

هیچ رونبست ز دوران دور و حاضر خواه * کار بهتر نه شود گر چه ورق بر گردد

خاک مشهد نه شد از مدفن او این حسرت * دارد احقری که باین فیض برابر گردد

آه حسرت که ازین درد کشید آبروی شد * که برو سایه فگن در صف محشر گردد

رفت قدسی زمین بر که سخن - واهم خواند * که نه از لب بدلم باز سخن بر گردد

آن گهر سنج معانی که ز فیه سخنش * اشک بر تربت پاکش همه گوهر گردد

گویم اشعار ترش گریه روانی آب است * ماهی از فیه زمین ربط سخن بر گردد

عجب نیست که از رفتن استاد سخن * سخن افسرده تر از پیکر رخ سر گردد

معنی اندر وطن عیب به عربت افتد * خامه لفظ نپوشیده مکرر گردد

اشک اگر آب برین آتش * انسوز زند * چشم ها خشک تراز دیده * محمر گردد
در چنین واقعه کا قلم سخن گشت خراب
بحر شعر آب اگر خون نه شود باد سراب

بلبل نه چمن قدس ز الحان افتاد * بیت همسر سخن حیف که ویران افتاد
خامها یک قلم از آتش محرومی سوخت * زین سموم اجل آتش به نیستان افتاد
گل همه کف شد و زد دست تاسف بر سر * که چنین بلبل افسوس زدستان افتاد
روی گل بسکه نهان شد به ته گرد ملال * بر سر گوی دیوار گلستان افتاد
به نظر خاتم افتاده نگین می آید * حلقه اهل سخن کز سرو سامان افتاد
بر سیه روزی ارباب سخن چشم دوات * آن چنان اشک فشان گشت که مرگان افتاد
از خزان که به گلزار سخن روی نهاد * خنده از چشم و دل غنچه خندان افتاد
زین درشتی که فلک با گل این بستان کرد * خار در پیرهن لاله و ریحان افتاد
گل پرواز همین بلبل خون الحان بود * این همه خار که گل رابه گریان افتاد
برگ برکت ورق بود ز دیوان لعل * آن نهالی که زیستان خراسان افتاد
از شراب سخن مست شد اورا چه گناه * شیشه این می اگر از کف دوران افتاد
پیش ازین معنی اگر خاک بسرمی باشید

پیش ازین بود همین روز سیه را می دید

اگر استاد سخن دست و دل از کار کشید * خون میان سخن و سامعه دیوار کشید
ساز اقسام سخن زوینوا شد که ز فکر * گشت باریک و به قانون سخن تار کشید
راه اقلیم سخن بسته نوی گشت فلک * انتقام آخرازان قافله سالار کشید
هر کجا هست دلی قافله گاه الم است * بوی دل می شود هر که ز با خار کشید
از وطن مرغ چمن گشت بنوعی دل سرد * گاتس خار و خن خانه به منقار کشید
گر غبار دل ارباب سخن گل گردد * می توان در ره هر حادثه دیوار کشید
نه شد از صورت احوال وی افکار ضعیب * خامه لاغر شد از صورت دیوار کشید
عالم سفلی لفظ و ملکوت معنی * زیر فرمان سخن خسرو اشعار کشید
غیرتی داشت که احسان ز فلک چشم نداشت * پشت زر (زو) بسرار منت دستار کشید
شاهد معنی او روی نهان کرد از نیلی * هر کجا غیرت او پرده ز رخسار کشید

فکرش از عالم بالا جو گهر جمع آورد * قدرتش بین فلک رابه نه بار کشید

نه نهد کس به سرتربت او بار چراغ

می کند نور مصانی همه شب کار چراغ

مردلی کز غم این حادثه افکار شود * خون حسن آبله‌هایش به فغان بار شود

بسکه سرشته کلام شده زین دهشت گم * گریه در راه گلو بر سر گفتار شود

محفل را که کند گرم کلام قدسی * خون دل سر سخن دفتر اشعار شود

ناله آهسته اثر می کشم از صبرمدان * صبر با حاصر ماتم زده کی بار شود

طفل تسلیم و رضا را چون می فهمد چیست * اشک می ترسم ازین قصه خبردار شود

اشک خونین نرسیدار بستم عیب مکن * وقت آن نیست که گل زینت دستار شود

هر سرشکی که ز دل رفت به غم حاشی سپرد * غلط است این که دل از گریه سبک بار شود

رویه خون شسته ره تربت قدسی گیرد * صبح دم گریه ام از خواب جویدار شود

حلق او را چوبه یاد آرم و اشک افشانم * عجبی نیست که تعم گل بی خار شود

شمع گردد به تن از آتش این غم هر موئی * بیک آن شمع که غم خانه ازان تار شود

نفس بر سنگ مزارش شود از قصه او * لعلی از پیچش این غصه چو حومار شود

هر چه را بینم بر درد دلم افزاید

شمع اگر مشعله کشد ناله بیادم آید

حیف ازان صبح سخن گستر و آن نکته وری * صبح چه محض لطافت چو نسیم سحری

گر بخاک از اثر صبح لطافت بخشد * به نماید تنای از خاک چو در شیشه پری

از دل معنی او یاد ضمیر نه رود * گرد در آئینه خورشید کند حلوه گری

گوهر معنی از بحر کواکب صدف است * یافتن از سخنان معنی عالی گهری

آن زبانها که به تحسین کلام خود داشت * چه ستم شده که ندانند باز نوحه گری

خبر رفتن قدسی نه شنیدن بی نیست * چه بود بهتر ازین فائده بی خبری

تا کجا رفتی اگر بال و پری می بودی * رفت تا گلشن افلاک به بی بال و پری

قاصد اشک که از دیده پریدن آموخت * نه رسید ازین آن یار عزیز سفری

سخنان رفت به سیر همه انا او رفت * هم چو فرزند که خود سر شود ازین پدری

روشنی از مه و خورشید در ایام منست * سال عمرم چه به شمس گزرد چه قمری

گرازین عالم دل گیر خبردار شود * نخل پای باز نماند زین ره گزرد

بلبل رفت که تن یابد الربا و پیر

هم چو دهد شد انداز روی شرف تا سر

دید ها تا که بر احوال سخن گریبان شد * نقشه روی سخن اشک سخن فهمان شد
بسکه خون در تن الفاظ ازین غم زد جوی * کاسه دایره حرف زخون پنهان شد
می توان یافت که در هر دو جهانست عزیز * آنکه ملک عدم از رفتن آبادان شد
هفته پیا پیخ خویس به مردم نه نمود * گل ازین شرم که بی بلبل خود خندان شد
جان معنی به تن شعراز و می آمد * ز آسمان نامی ازان روی محمد جان شد
برد آن گوی سخن را که ازین میدان رفت * قامت ماعت از فکر سخن جوگان شد
گره رشته کار همه نکشوده به ماند * که سر انگشت همه در گرو دندان شد
جبر این دل شکنی کرد گر ایام این بود * کز جهان مشکل دل کندن ما آستان شد
خاک بروی رقم ها نه کسی می باشد * گرد از انست که بنیاد سخن ویران شد
به چمن گریه کنان رفته ز گل پر سیدم * به چه تاریخ برون قدسی ازین بستان شد
گل زهبنم همه تن اشک مصیبت شد و گفت * دور ازان بلبل قدسی چمنم زندان شد

در لحد مونس تنهایی او حور آباد

برخ اوزخوشی نسخه از فردا باد

It is very curious that the three lines which occur in the beginning of the fourth Band of this elegy have been also quoted, with slight modification, by Muhammad Salih¹ while he deals with and mourns the sad demise of his sovereign, Shahjahan. These lines, standing for Shahjahan, are:

کے ز دل کلفت این حادثہ کم تر گردد * مگر آن روز کہ شاہم ز سفر بر گردد
خود گرفتم کہ فلک فکر تلافی دارد * راحت کو کہ بہ این رنج برابر گردد
ہیچ رونیمست زدوران دور و خاطر خواہ * کار بہتر نہ شود گرچہ ورق بر گردد

1. Vide Amal-i-Salih, iii, p.355

ABUL BARAKAT, POETICALLY NAMED MUNIR OF LAHORE.

Another distinguished poet was Abul Barakat, Munir. He was son of Maulana Abd-ul-Majid of Multan, and was born at Lahore. Muhammad Salih, with his usual floridity of style and verbosity of words has spoken in high and commendable terms about Munir's poetry. This he (Muhammad Salih) did not do only because of his intimacy with Abul Barakat since boyhood,² but surely because Abul Barakat really deserved such commendation. Munir was, beyond doubt, one of the most talented and gifted literary figures of his day. Although he hailed from Lahore, he was superior to and could surpass, through his literary gifts, many Iranian poets and men of letters. He was equally unique in prose and poetry. For some-time he was in Bengal in the service of Sayf Khan (the governor) with his brother Abul-Fath. During his stay there he wrote a mathnawi, in praise of Bengal, and a prose work entitled 'Karistan'. His other prose works are the Ruzgāat, commentary on the Qasidas of Urfi; and a memoir of Indian poets.³

1. Vide Amal-i-Salih, iii, p.355

2. Ibid, iii, p.409-410.

3. Armughan-i-Pak p.57

Munir died at Agra, unfortunately, very young on Monday the 7th of Rajab, A.H.1054. His body was taken away to Lahore.¹

His fame chiefly rests on his poetry. He has written Qasidas, Ghazals, as well as mathnawis. His style of poetry is unique, vigorous, and charming. He has novelty of ideas and expression and mostly uses poetical aetiology in his verses.

Some representative verses are quoted below:²

بسکه دامن گیر حسن او بود دست حجاب * از حباد رخلوت آئینه نکشاید نقاب
چشم دل چون باز شد مشوق رادرخویش دید * عین دریا گشت چون بید ارشد چشم حجاب
من جمل از ذوق خود او شرمسار از ناز خویش * غافل از شوق نگه او از حیا من از حجاب
نامه از درد دل هر که می سازم رقم * می سپد در دست من نبش قلم از اضطراب

or the following:

هر که کم باشد زیاده پایه او کمتر است * شانه چون دارد زبان راست حیا من بر سر است
راز دار حق نه دارد قدر گرسامان نیست * هدیه مصحف چو خطی خوب بنود کمتر است
هر چه گوید مرد صاحب دم دلیل هستی است * هر چه آید بر زبان تیغ بحث جوهر است
عزت ارخواهی مشو باند یک حاله عزیز * ناز من گیرست زیر پوسته خاکس بر سر است

or the following lines:

باز وقت آمد که از کیفیت فینی هوا * ابر گردد ترد ملاح و گل شود رنگین ادا
مصرع از رشته باران کند ابر بهار * چون نگارد وصف گل بر کاغذ ابری هوا
از تماشاچی چمن نظاره رنگین می شود * می توان بستن کنون برینجه مرگان حنا

1. Amal-i-Salih iii, p.410

2. This whole selection is made from Amal-i-Salih, iii, pp.410-41.

مصرع آن قامت یاد آمد و از حاصرم * مدلعی سرزد که نقطه اوست چون معنی رسا
قامت اوصد قیامت مصرعست و یک ادا * قامت موزون کجا و مصرع موزون کجا
or,

در چمن آن سرور عنا برکنار جو گزشت * آب از رفتار ماند و گل زرنگ و بو گزشت
داشتم زان شوخ آهو چشم امید نگاه * گوشه چشم نمود از دور و گفت آهو گزشت
پای چوبین راره باریک رفتن مشکل است * شانه حیرانم سان از تار آن گیسو گزشت

or,

یک نفس از سینه ام سوز محبت دور نیست * از دلم سردی مجو این شمع از کافور نیست
تابکی باشد ز درد انتظارت خون چکان * رحم کن چشم سفیدم پنبه ناسور نیست
تیره بختی بادل روشن شگون دارد منیر * شمع را صبح سعادت جز شب د یحور نیست

or the following:

سرگزشت گریه از مرگان ما باید شنید * از زبان موج حرف آشنا باید شنید
از سیه مستی زدم در دامن زلف تودست * از زبان شانه ام اکنون چها باید شنید
or,

مابه رنگ شومعه صاحب مشرب و آزاده ایم * تازه رو مانند ساغر صاف دل چون باده ایم
چون حباب باده از مستی درین بزم نشاط * رفته ایم از خویشتن ناچشم را بکشاده ایم
or the following quatrain:

تا هست مرا به خامشی دست رسی * راز دل خویشتن نگویم به کسی
نی راز دلم ماندونی من بر عیانی * مانند حباب گر بر آرام نفسی
Munir has also written a poem as Muhakimah¹ (a judgement

1. The author of Fanus-i-Khayal writes:

"ملا ابوالبرکات منیر هوری در اکبرآباد در سنه ۱۰۵۴ ه قوت شد - او هم عمر
قدسی بوده - محاکمه او که بر منظره ملا شیدا و قدسی نوشته مشهور و بر زبانها
مذکور است"

poem) Mulla Shaya's poem¹ in which the latter has criticised a panegyric of Qudsi² beginning:

ہر دم روز دلم غریم دینر (میں) خواست * این کہ خون را نتوان شست بحون رسم کجاست
This controversy between Qudsi and Mulla Shayda in which Munir was also involved to the extent of writing a Muhakima,³ (a judgement poem) has been referred to by several authors.⁴

1. Muhammad Husayn Azad in his Nigaristan-i-Fars (p.151) written writes that the qasidah which Mulla Shayda wrote as a criticism on Qudsi's qasidah was named by him as: "قطع اللسان"

2. Qadi Abd-ul-Wadud in his article: "عہد شاہ جماعتی کا ایک ادبی مناقشہ" writes as follows:

اور غالب "..... سب نے لکھا ہے کہ قصیدہ قدسی کا مطلع عالم از نالہ من الخ ہے لیکن دیوان م ۱۲۱۶ میں ایک مصرع بیت اس سے قبل موجود ہے :-

ہر دم روز دلم غریم دینر خواست * این کہ خون را نتوان شست بحون رسم کجاست
اسے ملا کر ان نسخہ میں تعداد ابیات ۶۲ مقرر ۳۰۸ میں یہ بیت اور بیت ۲ نیست ناکام الخ نہیں ہے - اور اس کے باوجود تعداد ابیات ۶۲ ہے - اور ۳۰۸ کی ایک بیت م ۱۲۱۶ میں نہیں ہے "

3. Qadi Abd-ul-Wadud in the same article (Muasir, part 5, p.170) writes that besides Munir there were others also such as Mir Abd-ul-Baqi Sahbai as well as Jalala-i-Tabatabai who had tried to refute the charges brought by Shayda. Referring to, and quoting, the statement of Khan-i-Taru in his Majma-un-Nafais about Mir-Abd-ul-Baqi Sahbai, he states:

"از کلام معلوم می شود کہ در عہد شاہ جماعتی ہر دو اکثر تعریف عالم گیر نمود از فرزند ان - راجعہ موجود حتمی است و از - اربابیت ترکر سلسلہ علیہ تیموریہ راجعہ اعتراضات شیدائہ بر اکثر ابیات قصیدہ قدسی کرد و یہ نظر آ رہے۔"
About Jalala he thus writes: (Ibid, p.163)

"خلاصہ شیدائے اعتراضات دیکھ کر ان کے نام ایک حد لکھا تھا جو منقورات تھا اور سچاٹ شرائط میں موجود ہے - ملا کے نزدیک اعتراضات ہیں اور یاد رہواہیں - اور ایک کے سوا کسی کا تاویذ بکھیرت میں اس کی دشواری کا سامنا نہیں ہوا وہ کسی سے بحث نہیں کرتا۔"
4. Such as Muhammad Salih, Tahir Nasrabadi, Mir Afdal Sarkhush, Sher Khan Lodi, Ahmad Ali Hashimi and others.

Such views shall be discussed subsequently in connection with comments on Mulla Shayda's poetry. At present, we are concerned only what has been remarked by Munir about the poetical strife between Qudsi and Shayda, the nature and scope of his judgement, and the final decision taken up by him.

Munir's Qasidah which is identical with Qudsi's in rhyme and refrain has been reproduced by Sayfuddin in his *Fanus-i-Khayal*.¹ Some verses thereof are being quoted here:

ایکه چون نام تودل بر سخنان شیدا است * فکر نکتہ طراز تو فصاحت پیدا است
 رفته از نطق تو اعجاز مسیحا بر باد * بسکه طبع سخن اندیش تو معجز آراست
 دست داده است ترا شیوا^۱ نازک سخنی * قلمت کشته بغن سخن انگست نماست
 پایہ معنی بر خسته رسانیده به جریح * صبح معنی ات از سکه بلند است و رساست
 هست از معنی رنگین تو از دست دگر * جز تو این دستگہ معنی امروز کراست
 چشمت آورد سیاهی ز نظر بازی لفظ * در سر کلک تو افتاد چرا این سودا است
 چون سواد خط^۲ سخن دلکش تودید ز رشک * بر تن و چشم بتان از مرها مویر خاست
 من نہد صبح تو بر محفل خورشید انگشت * زانکہ دست تو در اندیشہ طراز بالا است
 نکتہ گیری تو از بسکہ رسیدہ به کمال * معنی لفظ در آئین تودر رخ و عناست
 قلمت بسکہ کند مو^۳ شکافی در شعر * با سخن گریسر زلف زند حرف رواست
 گر سخن گیری این دست جواب بر^۴ بتان * بیت راموش ز غیرت^۵ خواہد خاست
 نکتہ اندیش والا خدا دیدہ را * آنکہ نور سخن از جیب^۶ طبیعت پیدا است

1. See Aligarh Ms. No. 920/25. As it is badly damaged by worms and is also water stained, it is very difficult to make out the whole of its text. This Qasidah probably in its entirety, is to be found in Rampur Mss. Library, under No. 3483. It is stretched in about ten pages, and has been, perhaps, copied from some *Diwan* of Munir. It is not dated. According to the catalogue information it was transcribed by some Mahdi Ali Khan Tahwil-Dar, but there is no mention of the copyist anywhere in the Ms. itself.

کاس آید ز دم سرزده اندیشه وری * که به معنی رسی فکرت اندیشه کواست
 گشته سرخو ز فیض بیاض در دست * که سواد سخن او به نظر سرمه نماست
 در همین وزن وقوافی دوسه بیت بر خواند * گفتم آئین نو آئین که به حد حسن اداست
 زاده صبح کدامین سخن آرائی بود * گفت پنهران چه کنم زاده طبع شیدا است
 که هارن شده باقدستی خورشید نظر
 کز جبین سخنی نور تقدس پیدا است

As is quite evident, Munir has in the beginning of this Qasidah praised Shayda and his poetic sensibility,¹ but as he proceeds

-
1. Munir has included Shayda among those four poets of his day who were the greatest and most distinguished. He writes about them and Qudsi thus:

"درین جزو زمان در سواد اعظم هندوستان دین سخن از چار یار قوی ست اول قدسی
 که ساکنان بیت المقدس فیض الفاس قدسیه الی راقوت روح می دانند و گفتارها کن را کلام
 قدسی می خوانند - دوم کلیم که کلک چون نخل ایمن صاحب اعجاز سوم آلهی چهارم
 شیدا - اگر این چار تن را به چار عنصر نسبت دهم بیجا نیست - زیرا که انتظام عالم
 سخن به وجود ایشان متعلق است - اول که صفت آتش دارد وفصرت والا سربه او
 می ساید و از سوختگی و برشتگی با همه کس گرم می جوشد - سخن پخته است
 و شعر گلوسوز"

Thus equalising Qudsi with fire, Kalim with air, and Ilāhī with water he compares Shayda with Dust and gives the following estimate about him:

"چهارم شیدا که دیوانه سواد سخندان است و بیکه تاز میدان معانی - با
 سخن کم آشناست اگر به این معنی بیگانه اش خوانند رواست"

(Contd. on next page).

with his arguments he appears to have supported Qudsi. It apparently seems that Munir has not done justice to Shayda, and has unduly shielded Qudsi.¹ Later he seems to have written some quatrains also in which he criticised Shayda and his poetry.

(In continuation of the preceding page)

and again: "جهانم که صف خاک دارد سرشتی مزرعه" نعم هشی است و

و من در خلاصه زمین سخن - در افتادگی خاکسار می گوی به گرد - نه می رسد -

با این همه هیچ وجه نیست که عبارات ازونداشته باشد و باین دلیل که من او را به خاک تشبیه کرده ام و سرشت آنم از خاک است اگر گوید که من مایه آدمیت ام گریا می جواب است خدا گواه که اکنون به ملک هندوستان * زاهد هیچ حزاین حارثی نه می یابم

(Preface to Majmu-i-Mathnawiyat-i-Munir, and his Kulliyāt, as referred to and quoted in Muasir part v, pp.170-2)

/. It can be due to certain reasons. Qadi Abd-ul-Wadud in his article fully ascertains that close relation which existed between Munir and Jalala-i-Tabatabai. In this connection his statement deserves mention:

"منیراورجلال در تعلقات برکاتیات منیر کے اقتباسات میں روشنی ڈالتے ہیں -

(الف) بعد از ان صاحب میرزاخان آوردم - آن عارف منیر از روی انصاف مانند آئینه شاهده ان معانی مراد را نه من روشن دکان روشنایی گردانید و تیر معانی از انصاف رسانده و بیاجه نوشت - و بدین صورت آن عروس خان دل صریح را نمایان داد (د بیاجه گدیا)

(ب) سر مشق - رد ز عقل والا دارم * این نشاء زمیر ز احلالا دارم

کیفیت فی حق تعالی دارم * در سخن از عالم بالا دارم

(ج) قصیده گفته دد - انشاء الله از فیض اصلاح آن صاحب فاضل سر او تنها خواهد یافت - (مکتوب به نام خللا)

(د) سواد آن نظم که تشریفات اصلاح آن مردم دیده اعیان است بر بیان آورده به خدمت فرستاده شد -

(ه) د بیاجه مجموعه مثنویات میں خللا کو اپنے عہد کے تین بزرگ ترین انشا پردازوں

میں شمار کیا ہے - "اوں صاحب فصرت زاد میرزا خللا کے سواد سخنوں چون سرمه

عفا ہاں سرما پہ بینش دیدہ وراں - و نام پہنچا نشر ان پشت دست بر زمین

سخن نم ادہ - اقتباس الف میں نظم کا ذکر نہیں - لیکن اقتباسات - و د سے

مریجا یہ معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ منیر خللا کے اعلیٰ دینا تھا -"

It is quite probable that Munir might have defended Qudsi on account of his close relationship with Jalala, who in turn had himself been friendly with Qudsi, and whose intimacy with him is well established by his preface which he has written on Qudsi's Diwan. We shall discuss Jalala and his preface in the subsequent chapter.

These quatrains are:¹

شیدا که بود سهو کلامش پیدا * نه حرع² خط است ز جامش پیدا
محتاج بیان نیست خونش آری * دیوانگئی اوست ز نامش پیدا
and,

شیدا گوید که شعر من لک بیت است * هر نقطه من به صفحه بر شک بیت است
یک بیت درست نیست درد یوانش * از جفت بروت صاحب یک بیت است
and,

شیدا به خیال چون نگارد معنی * کتابی نگارد معنی
دیدم که معنیش ندارد صورت * زانگونه که عورتش ندارد معنی
and the following:

شیدا بردانا به حذری آید * در مجلس ابلهان به سری آید
سازند اگر زاستخوانش بزلج * هر بار که افگند خرقی آید
These quatrains which were probably written after the strife
had begun show Munir's rivalry with Shayda, and in this con-
text it would be unfair to accept Khan-i-Arzu's view² who holds
that Munir's judgement is discreet and impartial. Similarly,
it would be a mistake to take for granted Ahmad Ali Hashimi's
view³ who writes that in one line of his judgement-poem Munir
has praised Qudsi, while in the other he has supported Shayda.
As a matter of fact and after a keen perusal firstly of his
Muhakimah and secondly of his quatrains, his partiality is
fully proved.

We do not know whether Munir was personally known to
Qudsi or not but from his statement⁴ in which he has accorded

1. Muasir, part v, p. 72

2. See 'Wajma-un-Nafais.

3. Vide his Vakhzan-ul-Gharab.

4. Already referred to.

Qudsi the loftiest position among contemporary poets, it is revealed that he held him in high esteem and distinction.

MULLA SHAYDA

He was born at Fatehpur Sikri. The author of Mirat-u-Khayal has wrongly called him son of one of the Shaykhs of Fatehpur. Shayda himself used to say that he descended from and was a member of Taklu tribe of Iran and that his father, a native of Mashhad, had come from there but he (Shayda) himself was born in India.¹

Taqi Auhadi in his Arafat has mistakenly mentioned that he was born at Qandhar.² He flourished during the later period of Jahangir's reign and approximately, upto the middle of Shahjahan's reign. In the beginning he was in the service of Abd-ur-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan³ and thereafter he joined the of Sultan Shahriyar, one of the sons of Emperor Jahangir. Lastly,

1. Ma'athir-i-Rahimi, and Khizana-i-Amirah.

2. It is very curious that Taqi Auhadi who, according to the author of Suhuf-i-Ibrāhim, had met Shayda at Ajmer in A.H. 1025 makes such a statement.

3. The author of Suhuf-i-Ibrāhim expressly mention that Shayda joined Khan-i-Khanan's service at the age of 10. About his early career he writes:

”الحاصل شیدا به عمرده سالگی در خدمت نواب خانخانان سپه سالار رسیده
قصیده مدح گزرانید - نواب آثارخووس فصری از سیمای او معانی نمود به یومیه
پنج رویه از محصول بیانیه که به جاگیر نواب بود موظف ساخت تا از فکر همیشه
فارغ بال بوده به تحصیل کمال پردازد :“

he became a court poet under Emperor Shahjahan.¹

According to the author of Amal-i-Salih he spent his last days at Kashmir where he died towards the middle of his sovereign's reign.² Before dealing with his poetry remarks of certain writers about his character and poetical strife with Qudsi are quoted below:

The author of Amal-i-Salih writes:

" از برای حاجی محمد جان قدسی که سرد فتر قدسیان است به تیزی تیغ زبان
قطع اللسانی کرده بر قصیده او که مطلبش اینست :-
عالم از ناله من بے توجہان تنگ قضا است * کہ سپند از سر آتش نتواند برخاست
نکتہ ہائے رنگین گرفته و بعضی حا کلک از دستی ناخن بند کرده کہ حائے
انگشت نہاد ن نیست و بعضی جابر طرہ اشعار شانہ و اربابا پیچیدہ -
و در سال ہزار و چہل و ہفت ہجری این قصہ کہ بر تیزی زبانی او برہان
قاطع است در هجوم میرالہی گفتہ - قطعہ -

اے میرمن کہ کردہ الہی تخلص * از مرد لائی گرجہ الہی شدن خطاست
زین رطب و یابسی کہ بود در کلام تو * گر منکر کلام الہی شوم بجاست

1. Amal-i-Salih, iii, p.406; Suhuf-i-Ibrahim, ii, fol.466

2. Vide Suhuf-i-Ibrahim, ii, fol.466. The authors of Khulasat-ul-Afkar and Nishtar-i-Ishq are certainly wrong to place his death in A.H.1080. Qadi Abd-ul-Wadud (Muasir part v, p.155) correctly writes that he died before the death of Salim which took place in A.H.1057.

Defending Shaida, the author of Mirat-ul-Khayal writes:¹

"حق آنست که این همه صحن راسترا..... محضی ازراء سبک سری و پاره گوئی نه بود بلکه فضل و بلاغت شیدا مقتضی آن شد که هیچ یک را از شعرای عصر در نظر اعتبار نیاورد و احدی را در پله میزان هنرمندی با خود نه سنجیده - چه در علم عروضی و قوافی ضرب المثل بود و بر آداب و دستور سخن وری و آرائی مراتب آن کما ینبغی آگاهی داشت از نیست که سخن وان ایران و توران که در پائے تخت صاحبقران ثانی پایه امتیاز داشتند بازو استعداد خود را قابل هم پنجگئی ولی نیافته به طعن و هجایی به پیچیدند و اگر زور طبع او سر راه نه می گردید چه گنجایش داشت که این همه خشونت از وی برداشتن و همین دلیل بر علوف فکر و بلند طبع ولی کافی ست "

Tahir Nasrabadi writes:

پیوسته به محض توحی از اقربان و امثال که حاجی محمد خان و طالب کلیم است و هر یک به صفات حمیده بگانه آفاق اند می رنجیده - قصیده حاجی محمد خان را به منی بر آورده و قصیده به همان بحر و قافیه گفته نا انصافی چند کرده که شرح آن نتوان داد - یکی آن که حاجی گفته - مهر و مه را بنود به مدد رائے نو نور..... الخ که دیده عینک کے بینا شود دیده شخص به سبب عینک بینا شود -

The author of Khulasat-ul-Afkar writes:

شوخی طبع و بیباک بود - شعرای پایه تخت شاه جهانی را که هم عصر او بودند به طعن و هجای رنجانید - ازان جمله این که بر قصیده حاجی محمد خان قدسی از اول تا آخر اعتراضی کرده - درین مطلع قدسی و اعتراضی آن ثبت می گردد -

عالم از ناله من به توجنان تنگ فضا است * که سپند از سر آدن نتواند برخاست

وله :-

ای سخن سنج هنرمند به اندیشه به سنج * نقد هر حرف به میزان خرد به کم و کاست
ناله در سینه هوای ست که به قصد رود * چونکه از سینه هوا گیر شد از جنس هواست

1. From this statement of the author of Mirat-Khayal it is revealed that as Shayda was superior in poetic talent to all the contemporary poets of Shahjahan's Court hence none had ability or courage to face or to give a proper reply to his critical comments. Qadi Abd-ul-Wadud has refuted this view and has passed the following sound

The author of *Suhuf-i-Ibrahim* writes:

"مجللاً لا شیدا مردے ہو کہ آراو ہنگامہ سازو شوخ صبع وتند خو و بجات بودہ
 و با ہر نوع مردم خصوصت سر کردہ عبت می رنجید و بہ ہجاگوئی اقدام می نمود۔ شعرائے
 نامور مثل طالب آملی کلیم و میرالہی مدانی و حاجی محمد خان قدسی از بے باکی و سخت
 چشم ہائے اول تنگ بودہ اند۔ واحدے از زبان لرزیدہ ان سالم نہ ماندہ
 بہ ہنگ خرمیت بسیاری از اکابر و اصاعر کہ نسبت بہ وی مصدر تقصیر نہ بودہ اند پرداختہ
 و مجروح تیغ زبان ساختہ است۔ اعتراض کہ از بے لاف گزاف منافی شیوہ انصاف
 بر قصیدہ حاجی محمد خان قدسی در بحر و قافیہ بہ سلک نظم کشیدہ از غایت اشتہار
 محتاج اظہار نیست"

Lachhmi Narain Shafiq in his *Gul-i-Rana* states:¹

"شیدا بر قصیدہ قدسی ایراد ہا کردہ و قطعہ طولانی در زمین ہماں قصیدہ
 گفتہ بحث ہا حاویہ حا آوردہ۔ و ملا منیر کی کم در سلک نظم کشیدہ۔
 درین جادو و بحث یکے از دقل بجا و دیگرے از دخل بے جا از ہر سہ استاد نقل
 کردہ می شود"

The author of *Makhzan-ul-Gharaib*, in this connection writes:

"بریک قصیدہ قدسی از اول تا آخر مہتر و گشتہ و ہر بیتش را جداگانہ جواب
 گفتہ و منیر درین قضیہ حکم گشتہ۔ او نیز در ہماں قافیہ و ردیف قصیدہ گفتہ
 دریک مصرع تعریف قدسی نمودہ و در مصرع ثانی شیدا را ستودہ۔ از اول تا
 آخر بہ ہمین طریق قصیدہ گفت"

(In continuation of the preceding page)

judgement in this connection:

"صاحب مرآۃ کا یہ بیان کہ ماصرین نے شیدا کی ہجوون کا جواب اسلئے نہیں دیا
 کہ وہ اس کے مقابلہ سے عاجز نہ تھے صریحاً غلط ہے۔ شیدا کی ہجو میں الہی کی
 متعدد رباعیان مصطلحات شعرا موعہ و ارستہ میں موحود ہیں اور حلالا اور منیر کی
 ہجوون اس مقالہ میں آگے چل کر نقل ہونگی۔"

(Muasir, part v, pp. 156-7)

2. Muasir, v, p.158-9.

From all these statements at least one thing is quite obviously discernible. It is that Shayda did certainly have a quarrelsome and pugnacious nature, and that he was temperamentally inclined to find fault with others. Apart from Qudsi (about whose poetical strife we shall discuss subsequently) and Mr. Ilahi, he had not spared others also such as Talib-i-Amuli,¹ Amr-ullah Khan (son of Mahabat Khan, Khan-i-Khanan), Hakim Hadhiq and Shaykh Firoz, who was Secretary to Sad-ullah Khan, the wazir of Emperor Shahjahan². The result was that quite naturally, he was also criticised and condemned in turn by others such as Mir Ilahi,³ Shaykh Firoz⁴ and Mulla Tughra of Mashhad.⁵

1. About whom he writes:

شب و روز محذو منا طالبا * بشع جیفه دینوی درنگ است

مکرمول پیغمبر باد نیست * که دنیا است مردار و طالب سگ است

These verses were not written for Abu Talib Kalim as is wrongly asserted by the author of Khulasat-ul-Afkar.

2. Suhuf-i-Ibrahim, ii, fol.466

3. Amal-i-Salih, ii, pp.405-6, Muasir, part v, pp.156-7.

4. Cf: "شیخ فیروز منش سرکار سعد اللہ خان وزیر شاہ جہان بادشاہ ورق چند
از شیر رنگین نوشته وقایع صحبت و مناظرہ کہ ولی را باشد ادر گجرات رودادہ
در اندراج کردہ است"

(Suhuf-i-Ibrahim, ii, fol.466).

5. Vide his following fragment in which Shayda has been charged with the offence of borrowing and stealing

(Contd. on next page)

Shaida was, no doubt, a gifted and prominent poet of the day. He has been praised by the authors of *Amal-i-Salih*, *Suhuf-i-Ibrahim* and others. The former states:

"فکرش نکته صرازو طبعش معنی پرداز است - هر لحظه صبح در اندیخت معانی تازه آید از چندین خیال نو آئین بر روی کاری آورد و خاک زمین سخن را که از گرد کساد خاک مال خورده بود به کیمیای فکر زری نمود و از بس که اندیشه رسا و فکر درست داشت در مجلس فکر سخن می نمود و پیوسته در انجمن با شاهدان معانی خلوت می داشت در قوانین سخن آفرینی یگانه وقت خود است و رسائی فکریه پایه ایست که در یک ساعت نحوی قصیده غرا که نظم ثریا را نمونه تواند بود به کلک شمیری شعاری پرداخت و صره اشعار را از دستی پیرایس می داد که هیچ سخن دستگار شانه وارد روی ناخن بند نه تواند ساخت "

The author *Suhuf-i-Ibrahim* gives the following estimate:

"ملاحظه مشارالیه در جمله اقسام سخن قدرت تمام دارد و معانی عجیب و مضامین غریب او را دست می دهد و در قوافی و ردیف مشکله اکثر غزل بلکه قصاید نظم می کشاید - بسیار معانی تازه در دیوانش توان یافت که خاص او باشد "

(In continuation of the preceding page)

بود شیدا شاعری در ملک هند * گفته اش رنگین به سان لعل
 از ره شیرین گلی خامه اش * نزد طوطی داشت صمیم شکر
 لبیک هر مضمون خسرو را به جنس * ده روش می بست بالفظ دیگر
 خواست بکشاید دکان نظم را * ناگهان پیچید اجل بریک دیگر
 کهنه دزد شاعران یعنی سلیم * یافت چون از قصه فونش خبر
 رفت و از طفلان بی عقلش خرید * گنج باد آورد نظم را به زر
 شعر خویش را به نام خود نوشت * شهرتش در شاعری شد بیشتر
 نظم شیدا گشت تاراج سلیم * صرفه دزدی خورد بردزدی دیگر

(See *Muasir* part v, pp.155-6) Qadi Abd-ul-Madud (Ibid p.156) clarifies that in that strife which had taken place between Shaykh Firoz and Shayda, the former also, like Mulla Tughra, levelled the same charge against him.

Despite his originality and genius in the field of poetry he has been criticised by the author of Amal-i-Salih for his deficiency in knowledge and learning.¹ There are various versions about the total number of his verses. The author of Subh-i-Sadiq,² mentions them to be about a hundred thousand. Taqi Auhadi who met him in the year A.H.1025, mentions them to be more than fifty thousand.³ Apart from Qasidas and Ghazals Shayda had also written a mathnawi in imitation of and similar in style with Makhzan-ul-Asrar of Nizami of Ganja. It comprises twelve thousand verses.⁴

From the following statement of Muhammad Salih it appears that Shayda had adopted and appreciated the old classical style of Persian poetry, discarded new trends, denounced and badly criticised those poets who tended to modernity.

"و در سخن صرزیستان گزیده برمتاخران پیوسته زبان صنرمی کشود و یک قلم این جماعت را از سلسله ارباب سخن خارج دانسته از خطه سخن وری اخراج می نمود -
..... و با صرزن تازه خصم دیرین بود و شعر تازه گویان را بدتراز تقویم پارینه می داشت (دانست)"

1. Cf.

" از مراتب علمی بیگانه بود "

2. As referred to by Ali Ibrahim Khan Khalil in his Suhuf-i-Ibrahim.

3. Majma-un-Nafais.

4. Amal-i-Salih, iii, p.405; Suhuf-i-Ibrahim, ii, vol.466.

It is quite probable that he would have censured or found fault with Qudsi's Qasidah on this very ground. Whether he cherished a personal grudge against him is not known. This historic and famous strife, in which many were involved, obviously started when Shayda criticised certain verses of a Qasidah composed by Qudsi.¹ We have not been able to come across the whole of Shayda's Qasidah². Therefore only ten lines are being quoted below.³ The first seven lines deal with the following line of Qudsi's Qasidah:

عالم از ناله من بے توجہان تنگ قضاست * کہ سپند از سرآتش نتواند برخاست

The eighth line deals with the second line of Qudsi which runs as follows:

ہست شمشیر تو برندہ تراز تیراجل * قاف این قبضہ فزون یک نقطہ افزائے فناست

The ninth and the tenth lines of Shayda have, however, been written for the fourth line of Qudsi.

1. As already indicated previously with reference to Muasir's version, it begins as:

ہرغم روز دلم عذرغم دیگر خواست * این کہ خون را نتوان شست بہ خون رسم کجاست
and not as

عالم از ناله من بے توجہان تنگ قضاست * کہ سپند از سرآتش نتواند برخاست
This Qasidah is in praise of Hadrat Imam Ali Rida.

(Vide Diwan-i-Qudsi, Aligarh Ms. fol.13^a)

2. The author of Gul-i-Rana^{as} referred to in Muasir, part v, p.160) curiously and contrary to common version calls it a long Qitaa fragment.
3. Muasir, part v, pp.159-60.

The lines under discussion are:

- اے سخن سنج هنرمند به اندیشه به سنج * نقد هر حرف به میزان خردیے کم و کاست
 ناله درسینه هوائے ست که بے قصد رود * چونکه ازسینه هواگیر شد از جنس هواست
 عالم آرزوئے نه شود تنگ ولیکن ز ملال * خلق عالم گرازو تنگ نشینند بجاست
 خود گرفتیم که جهان تنگ شد از ناله نو * که ز تنگش نظر از چشم نیارود برخاست
 نیست ترتیب دومصرع بهم ربط پذیر * که سیاق سخن از هر دو به اندیشه جداست
 تنگی عالم از ناله به کیفیت اوست * که جهان تنگ زانده شده برد لها ست
 تنگی جاز کجا تنگی اندوه کجا * بیشتر از تن و جان تفرقه هم پیدا است
 قاف این قبضه به تحقیق چه می افزاید * قاف چون عام به یک نقطه افزون ترزفاست
 چون قلم هست زبانے که نه دارد کامے * کام چون نیست بگو تا بجه از کام جداست
 باز آن کام که نا کامی از وی خواهی * هم بکا میکه زبان راست نی آید راست

Contrary to the general belief that Shayda criticised the whole Qasidah from the beginning to the end, Khan-i-Arzu's view appears fair and acceptable that Shayda has tried to disclose poetical errors in most of the verses.¹ This point is quite clear also from the above lines. Shafiq in his Gul-i-Rana correctly believes that points of criticism are both right and wrong.² This fact too is proved from the above.

1. Muasir, part v, p.160

2. Ibid.

Whether Qudsi replied or reacted to these critical comments in any way, is not at all known. Some verses of Shayda are, however, quoted below to give an idea about the style of his poetry.¹

اے بروئے تو گرد آئینہ را چشم نیاز * شانہ رادست دعا در شب زلف تو دراز
گریه صحرا موفشاندهشت پرسنبل شود * ور به دریا مویه شوید خارماهی گل شود

or,

زلف اورا رشته جان گفتم و گشتم حجل * زآنکه این معنی جوزلف پیش پا افتاده است

or,

اگر گیسو بر افشانی هوا در مشک تو پیچید * و گر رخساره بنمائی شب مادر سحر پیچی
فسون گرداند آن خاکی که ازوے برے مار آید * شناسم بوئے زلفت را اگر در مشک تو پیچی
نه من دودم نه تو بادی نه من زلفم نه تو شانه * که چون من بیشتر پیچم تو بامن بیشتر پیچی
بدین حسن تو نگر زلف چون دلق گد اداری * که گاهی سائبان رخ کنی که بر کمر پیچی

or,

اشکم نه زخون است گره بسته به مرغان * کز جور تو چشم گز دانگشت بدن دان
از روشنی و تیرگی آن عارن و گیسو * چون صبح تو تار بود و شام غریبان

or the following mathnawi couplets in praise of God:

ستایان سراپا نیای تراست * که در هر نمودی نمایان تراست
دهد ذوق توحید تو در دهن * سخن رازبان و زبان را سخن
به اندیشه راه تو نتوان سپرد * که کسی تشنگی ز آب گوهر نبرد
سخن چون زخم تو بندد نگار * چه پرورده گوید ز پرور دگار
جو چشم ارچه خود روسیاه آدم * به چندین زبان عذر خواه آدم
جو چشم سیه به تر است از سفید * به حرم از تو باشم حرانا امید

Shayda was also a prose writer but about his works in this field we have no information. His prose (as is told by the author of Amal-i-Salih) was, however, inferior to his poetry. He

1. All these have been extracted from Amal-i-Salih.

concentrated more on rhetorics and thus, not caring for beauty and simplicity of expression, rendered his ideas ambiguously hidden under the garb of rhetorical devices. About Mulla Shayda's prose style the author of *Amal-i-Salih* remarks as follows:¹

"و در نشر نیز دستگاه بالا داشت و به نائید هیچ رسا معنی تازه بر صفحه بیان می
نکاشت اما چون به چهره آرای بیان و معانی پرداخته و از آرای لفاظی انحراف ورزیده
لاجم عبارات از امان دور آمده و معانی در ضمیر آن مانند صاحب حلالان حسن بود
ماند - برارباب سخن ظاهر است که آن چنان که در نظم داد آرای لفظ و معنی
داده اگر در تحریر نیز صیغ را به همان دستور کار می فرمود هیچ کس را به او
دعوی برابری نبود "

MULLA TUGHRA.

He was a native of Mashhad.² He came to India in the early part of Shahjahan's reign.³ For sometime he was with Prince Murad Bakhsh, went to the Deccan and visited other cities of India in his company. Later he joined royal service. Like Kalim and Shayda he also spent the last days of his life in Kashmir, died and was buried there close to Kalim's grave.⁴ He had a very witty amusing, humorous and sarcastic nature. He has criticised and slandered both Qudsi and Kalim in the following way:

دوروزن بهم کرده اند اغاق *	یکی از خراسان یکی از عراق
کنایه که از بهر دارا هند *	مرتب شد از گفته این دورند
بود لفظ و معنی از دیگران *	حوکاتب نه دارند حق در آن

1. *Amal-i-Salih*, iii, p.442

2. Tahir Nasrabadi has wrongly mentioned him as a native of Qazwin.

3. *Suhuf-i-Ibrahim* by Abi Ibrahim Khan Khalil, ii, fol.555; and *Khulasat-ul-Afkar* by Abu Talib, fol.100. In his another work *Khulasat-ul-Kalam*, Ali Ibrahim Khan writes that Mulla Tughra came to India during Jahangir's reign. The cause of this disparity cannot be explained.

4. *Suhuf-i-Ibrahim*, ii, fol.55. It means that he must have died after A.H.1061, the year of Kalim's death.

Such remarks show that because both Qudsi and Kalim occupied prominent positions in the royal Darbar, were on various occasions amply rewarded for their Qasidas by the king, and were men of recognised ability, were, therefore, envied by contemporary poets. But Mulla Tughra seems to have possessed a biting and satirizing temperament for all. He has not spared even others such as Saib and Salim.¹ He has mocked at several characters and personalities of the society.²

Tughra was a poet as well as a prose-writer. According to the author of Suhuf-i-Ibrahim he wrote 32 treatises in prose. His Diwan contains about ten thousand verses.⁴ He also wrote a mathnawi in praise of Kashmir, and a Saqi Namah in the style of Zuhuri.

1. Khulasat-ul-Kalam, iii, fol.1

2. The author Khulasat-ul-Kalam has given a list of such mathnawis in which he has satirised different people. The headings for instance are:

مذمت طبیب مذمت صوفی این عهد مذمت ابنائے عصر مذمت متقی مذمت عذر
نکوه ملائے عصر مذمت کاتب وغیرہ

3. Three of such are accessible in Aligarh Muslim University

MSS.Library under Nos.Sulayman 339/72, 346/79 and 387/120.

4. Suhuf-i-Ibrahim, ii, fol.555.

CHAPTER V
WORKS OF QUDSI

Before concluding the present work on Qudsi it is necessary to deal with his poetry in a comprehensive manner and to discuss thoroughly the general salient features of his art which has survived to immortalize his name. His sole contribution is in the field of poetry¹ and he has left several Ms. copies of his diwans,² of panegyrics, ghazals, Tarkib and Tarji Bands, Fragments and quatrains. His another chief work is the historical mathnawi

1. Thomas William Beale in his 'Oriental Biographical Dictionary' (p151) writes that Qudsi is also the author of an Insha, but we have not been able to come across any such prose work of his.
2. Mss. of Qudsi's poetical works are commonly accessible. They are found in Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Library Bankipur (Patna); State Library, Rampur; the University Library, Aligarh; Habibganj (Aligarh) Library; Buhar Library, Calcutta; Asifya Library, Hyderabad; the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, and in other Mss. collections of India. There are several Ms. copies of Qudsi's works in the British Museum, India Office and Bodleian Libraries also. Even in Iran some good and old Ms. copies of his works exist today. We have been able to consult and avail of three Ms. copies of his diwans at Bankipur Library (nos. 607, 684 and 685), three at the State Library, Rampur (nos. 3484, 3485, 3486), one Ms. copy of the same at Habibganj Library (no. 13-47/149) and two at the University Library, Aligarh (Nos. A.S. 849/86 and Lytton F.I. 34). A brief description of these Mss. follows.

(Continued on next page).

in the style of Shahnamah, which mainly describes the war exploits of Shahjahan and other contemporary events. It is entitled Badshah-Namah or Zafarnamah. It is either accessible

(In continuation of the preceding page)

The Bankipur Ms.(No.607) opens with a Qasidah in praise of the prophet and begins as:

اے عبارمقدمت زیب لوائے حبرئیں * وزشرف نعر براققت فرق سائے حبرئیں

This Naat is followed by panegyrics. Then there are Tarkib and Tarji Bands, ghazals and quatrains respectively. It is not dated. Another diwan (No.684) is also undated but was probably transcribed in 18th century. It opens with Qudsi's Mathnawi beginning as:

به حمد خدائے زیانم کشود * که شد منحصر در وجود و وجود

Other contents (of the Diwan No.684) are fragments, mostly written as chronograms on contemporary events in India(fol.282) beginning:

تمام کرد به بازی بهشت آبادی * قضا به امر خداوند لطف بار خدا

ghazals and quatrains, (ff.287-330)respectively arranged. Another copy (no.685) is also undated. It contains panegyrics (not alphabetically arranged) in praise of the Imams and Emperor Shahjahan, beginning:

من آن نیم که کنم سرکشی زتیغ جفا * جوشم زنده سرخویش دیده ام بریا

the naat (fol.90) beginning:

اے عبارمقدمت زیب لوائے حبرئیں - الخ

The Tarkib and Tarji Bands (including elegies on Muhammad Baqir) and ghazals beginning:

داده عشقم باده نابی که می سوزد مرا * خورده ام از جام خضرآبی که می سوزد مرا
the quatrains, and the mathnawi beginning:

در اثنائے هر عهد از روزگار * کند اقتضا لطف پروردگار

There exists a fine and very neatly written copy of Qudsi's diwan (No.3484) in the Rampur Ms. Library. It is dated A.H.1162 and was prepared by the calligraphist Shaykh Muhammad Azam. The illuminations are excellent. It has in all 368 folios. It

(Continued on next page)

in a separate form,¹ or together with other poems in Qudsi's

(In continuation of the preceding page)

respectively contains panegyrics, Tarkib Bands, the epical mathnawi (in praise of Shahjahan including a mathnawi in praise of Kashmir on p.314), ghazals, and quatrains. Another ms.(no.3486) opens with a very ornate preface written by Jalaluddin Muhammad Tabatabai, in A.H.1048 at Agra. This Diwan begins with the epical mathnawi beginning:

بنام خدای که داد از شهان * جهان پادشاهی به شاه جهان

The panegyrics begin with the following line:

من آن نیم که کنم سرکشی ز تیغ سفا * جوشع زنده سرخویش دیده ام برپا

Then there is a Saqi Namah in the form of a Tarji Band beginning;

مخمر زدن سقے لب امد نفس ما * فریاد رس اے ساقی فریاد رس ما

In the end there are the ghazals and the quatrains. Another Ms. diwan (no.3485) seems to be an abridged one. It has in all 153 pages. It contains the naat beginning:

اے بہ جای رفتہ کانشا نیست جای حزین - الخ

and selections respectively of the mathnawi, the panegyrics, ghazals and Tarkib Bands. The Habibganj Ms. apparently seems to be an old copy of Qudsi's works and is undated. It contains alphabetically arranged ghazals, the quatrains and fragments the panegyrics the elegies mostly on his son Muhammad Baqir, Tarkib and Tarji Bands and again stry pieces of some fragments. In between panegyrics, here and there, one occasionally finds ghazals, Tarkib and Tarji Bands. The Ms. is quite damaged, worm-eaten and water-stained, but on the whole the text mostly seems to have been correctly transcribed. The Aligarh Ms.(No.A.S. 849/86) is fairly written copy and contains a Naat beginning:

اے بہ جای رفتہ الخ

panegyrics, Tarkib and Tarji Bands, Ghazals and a large number of Rubais. It does not have fragmentary poems or a single panegyric in praise of Shahjahan. In all probability it was copied from that Diwan of Qudsi which appears to have been compiled in Iran. Another Aligarh Ms.(No.F.A.34) is merely a selection of the epical mathnawi and the ghazals.

1. Vide the two Aligarh Mss. Nos.F.A.81 and Sulayman

diwans. About the title of this mathnawi varying opinions exist. Amina Qazwini terms it as Badshah-Namah but Qudsi has himself styled it as Zafar-Namah.¹ It is not known as to when this work was begun but it is certain that in the year A.H.1047 Qudsi was engaged in writing it, as is evident from Amina Qazwini's remark.² This mathnawi was left unfinished.³ It is divided into

1. Cf:

قلم جون ظفرنامه را تازه کرد * عروس سخن را جنين غازه کرد
(Vide Aligarh Ms. No.F.A.81, p.352)

The authors of Kalimat-ush-Shuara, Yad-i-Bayda, Khulasat-ul-Kalam, Tadhkirat-ush-Shuara and Bazm-i-Timuriya also call it the 'Zafar-Namah.' Rieu (ii, p.684) Ette (India Office Library Cat. vol.1 p.845-6 and Bodlian Library cat. part 1, p.686) and the cataloguer of the Bankipur Library (vol.iii, p.74-80) also give it the name of Zafar Nama-i-Shahjahani and Zafar-Namah-i-Shahjahan Padishah. Some later biographers (like Khan-i-Arzu) have named it as Shahjahan-Namah. Some other writers have styled it as Shah Namah or Shah-Namah-i-Shahjahan Padishah.

2. Badshah-Namah (appendix)

3. See Khulasat-ul-Afkar (fol.147), Khulasat-ul-Kalam(fol.172) and Tadhkirah (p.107). The authors of Makhzan-ul-Gharaib and Riyad-ush-Shuara declare that it was later completed by Abu Talib Kalim but this statement has no truth. In this connection see also Rieu(ii, p.684). Azad Bilgrami in his Yad-i-Bayda and Ala-ud-Daula in his Tadhkirat-ush-Shuara have stated that for this Mathnawi Qudsi was weighed against silver, but this has not been supported by contemporary evidence.

two parts.¹ The first part treats general topics and discusses events from the birth of Shahjahan upto his coronation, as well as his early career and exploits. The second part, in the same rhyme and continuation, begins with Shahjahan's coronation and the opening line is:²

در اثنای هر عهد از روزگار * کند اقتضا لب و پروردگار

1. It is according to the Aligarh Mss. (Nos.F.A.81, and Sulayman 776/51). The first part however, begins as:

به حمد خدا ز نام گشود * که شد منحصر در وجود وجود

It tallies with Ms.No.1552, which also begins as;

به حمد خدا ز نام گشود * که شد منحصر در وجود وجود
on fol.5^b and preceding this mathnawi is Jalal-uddin Tabatabai's preface (fol.1^b). It also corresponds with an another India Office Library Ms.No.1553, on ff.174^b and 177a-279^b, and it is also the same as in Bodlian Library Ms.No.1102 (fol.73^b), and Bankipur Library Ms.No.684 fol.1 and Rampur Ms.No.4260. It also corresponds with a detailed selection of Qudsi's mathnawi which the author of Khulaṣat-ul-Kalam has given (see Bankipur Ms.fol.172). In some Mss. as in Rieu (British Museum no.323. fol.294^a) in Ette (I.O.L. No.1553 fol.8^b and no.1554 fol.9^a and Bodlian Library no.1106 fol.1) and Rampur Ms.No.3485 it opens with a different initial verse. It is:

بنام خدا که داد از جهان * جهان پادشاهی به شاه جهان

It is in fact the part and continuation of the epical mathnawi and not a new beginning itself. The poem in question (Zafar-Namah) actually opens as:

" به حمد خدا که داد از جهان * جهان پادشاهی به شاه جهان

and not as

" به نام خدا که داد از جهان * جهان پادشاهی به شاه جهان

2. Vide Aligarh Ms.No.F.A.81 p.190. This opening line does not, curiously, fall in with the following initial line which is found in some Mss. and which is:

به نام خدا که داد از جهان * جهان پادشاهی به شاه جهان

It mostly deals with contemporary events. The contents are as follows:

1. Page-1 " حمد "
- beginning: به حمد خداي زبانه كشود * كه شد منحصر در وجود و وجود
2. Page-4 " در مناجات به قاض الحاجات و عذر تقصيرات "
- beginning: خدايا چه گويم ز تفسير خويش * كه جرم زاندازه بيشتر است بيشتر
3. Page-10 " داستان نعت "
- beginning: من و نعت احمد كه روز نخست * شد ايمان نظم به نعت درست
4. Page-12 " داستان مرام "
- beginning: شبي روشني بخش از جام جم * شبي از شب قدر از يك شك
5. Page-15 " داستان تولد صاحبقران ثاني "
- beginning: نواسنج اين مرده دلنواز * سخن را چنين مي دهد برگ و ساز
6. Page-19 " داستان حليه اقدس "
- beginning: كمال آثر بنده هر كمال * در اظهار ماهيت اعتدال
7. Page-27 " داستان نسب نامه اعلي حضرت "
- beginning: نسب نامه پادشاه جهان * رقم چون كنم تابه صاحبقران
8. Page-42 " در تعريف حضرت سلمان صاحب قرآن نيمور شاه عازي "
- beginning: شهنشاه پنجم عمر شيخ بود * كه گوئي سعادت ز گردون رمود
9. Page-53 " نامه صاحبقران امير نيمور به قيصر روم "
- beginning: صرازنده كلك وعدو و عيد * چنين نبي بر سنگ رومي كشيد
10. Page-61 " داستان رزم صاحبقران به قيصر روم "
- beginning: نگارنده نقش غفور ستيز * ز ناله قلم شد چنين مشك بيز
11. Page-71 " داستان مكتب نشستن اعلي حضرت "
- beginning: نگارنده كلك حقيقت سرشت * كه آناه بود از خصل سرنوشت

12. Page-74 "داستان شیرکشی اعلیٰ حضرت"
beginning: شکارافکن عرصه* راستان * چنین می کند عید این داستان
13. Page-78 "داستان زفاف اعلیٰ حضرت"
beginning: کواکب شناس سپهر مراد * که بود قرآن مه و مهر یاد
14. Page-85 "داستان فتح رانا"
beginning: جبر داد ران که چون هشت سال * گزشت از جلوس مبارک سال
15. Page-102 "داستان نواب علیه العالیه"
beginning: بشارت رسان کلکه والا نژاد * چنین گلشن مزده را آب داد
16. Page-103 "داستان تولد سلطانی دارا شکوه"
beginning: جو بگزشت از سال محبت هزار * وزان پس بیفزود بریست چار
17. Page-103 "داستان تولد سلطان شاه شجاع"
beginning: یکی سال عشر دوم از جلوس * که امیر بود از صفاجون عروس
18. Page-104 "داستان فتح دکن و خدای شاهی یافتن اعلیٰ حضرت"
beginning: زهر سو جواز صورت بد سلال * به ملک دکن راه برد اختلال
19. Page-118 "داستان توجه سنت مکانی به احمد آباد و گجرات و تقوین نمودن آن صوبه به اعلیٰ حضرت"
beginning: مهم دکن شد چو پرداخته * دران بوم ویرکار شد ساخته
20. Page-125 "داستان فتح کانگره"
beginning: به گجرات چون راحه نامور * مرخص شد از شاه والا گهر
21. Page-132 "داستان ولادت سلطان اورنگ زیب"
beginning: ز سال جلوس ابد اتصال * ز عشر دوم چون برآمد سه سال
22. Page-133 "داستان تعیین شدن اعلیٰ حضرت به صوب دکن بار دوم"
beginning: به بزم جهانگیر فرخنده قال * که نگزشته هرگز حدیث ملال
23. Page-145 "کوچ نمودن لشکر از عادل آباد و در چار شدن با گروه دکن"
beginning: دگر روز چون مهر زرین گمند * نمود ارشد از سپهر بلند
24. Page-148 "داستان توجه لشکر ظفر میعاد به ضلع دولت آباد"
beginning: نهادند روسی بالا* کانگره * سپاه دکن را نمودند مات

25. Page-155 داستان نامزد نمودن جنت مکانی اعلیٰ حضرت را به فتح قند هارو
مرتفع شدن غبار کدورت میان آن دو شهریار
beginning: پس از مزده فتح اهل دکن * جهانگیر شاه زمین و زمین
26. Page-172 داستان در تمهید اورنگ نشینی اعلیٰ حضرت
beginning: نخست آنکه بنیاد دولت نهاد * بنابر سرخشت محنت نهاد
27. Page-173 داستان ولادت سلطان مراد بخش
beginning: ز تاریخ شاهنشاه هند و روس * ز عشر دهم نه زبان جلوس
28. Page-174 "داستان شنقار شدن جنت مکانی و سوانحی که در آن هر چه روی نمود"
beginning: همان کهنه باغست این بوستان * که دیدست چندین بهار و خزان
29. Page-190 "جلوس اعلیٰ حضرت"
beginning: در اثنای هر عهدی از روزگار * کند اقتضای لطف پروردگار
30. Page-202 "ملازمت نمودن شاهزادگان کامکار و آصف خان و امیران جنت مکانی"
beginning: خرد مند دهقان گلشن سراز * چنین می برد گل به گلزار باز
31. Page-205 داستان آمدن نذر محمد خان به تاخت کابل
beginning: به ذکر گریزند به سبیز * چنین خامه سر کرد راه گریز
32. Page-217 داستان فرار نمودن خان جهان لودی
beginning: قلم را به تحریر این داستان * چنین برق جست از سحاب زبان
33. Page-221 "داستان تعیین شدن افواج به تاخت و تاراج ملک به نظام"
beginning: ز تاریخ شاهنشاه هند و روس * حوال سال سیوم شد شروع از جلوس
34. Page-227 داستان فتح قندهار (ک) (دکن)
beginning: گزازنده داستان کهن * چنین کرد فتح حصار سخن
35. Page-229 "آواره شدن پرا از ملک دکن و رسیدن در اصرام بند بله"
beginning: چو در خاصری خوف افشرو بای * به آواز بای در آید زحای
36. Page-231 "دو چار شدن دریا به چهار بند بله و به آب نشستن کشتی هستی او"
beginning: نگارنده این پرا گنده حرف * بر آرد چنین در ز دریای روف

37. Page-234 "داستان توحه اعلیٰ حضرت به سرب دکن ربه قتل رسیدن بهادر له از حویشان پراورد"
- beginning: که از سرکشی آتش بر مروح * که خون شمع خود را بر آتش ^{سرخ} نه
38. Page-240 داستان ایلی فرستادن اعلیٰ حضرت به ایران
- beginning: نکرده رقم هیچ جا حامه * به از نامه دوستی نامه
39. Page-243 "داستان به قتل رسیدن خان جهان لودی"
- beginning: حسن و حار پیرای این بوستان * چنین داد پیرایه داستان
40. Page-245 داستان فتح قلعه داروبه سعی اعظم خان
- beginning: کشایند راز لغت و شنود * خسار سخن را چنین در کشود
41. Page-246 "داستان انتقال نواب مهد علیا"
- beginning: * چه افسرد، بوده است این مشت درد
42. Page-250 تعیین نمودن آصف خان بارودم به بالا گهاث از برای تنبیه بیجا پور بان
- beginning: ز ملک دکن عافیت پا کشید * خونیت به سلطان محمد رسید
43. Page-253 داستان برهم خوردن دولت پی نظام
- beginning: پی رحلت دولت پی نظام * فک برد خون جیل رحلت بهام
44. Page-254 داستان فتح بندر هوگلی
- beginning: سرایند، کاین قسه آغاز کرد * در فتح بندر چنین باز کرد
45. Page-262 داستان کدخدای سلطان در آشکوه و سندان شاه شجاع
- beginning: سرایند، ^{موت} شور و سرب * شنیدم که می گفت روز برب
46. Page-271 داستان فرستادن مفدر خان به نائب ایران
- beginning: نگارنده نامه اتحاد * ز مکتوب شاهان چنین یاد داد
47. Page-279 "داستان دستبرد شاهزاده اورنگ زیب به فیل جنگی"
- beginning: ز افراط خون جنگ فیلان گزشت * زهر جانی () - رحی آغاز کرد
48. Page-283 داستان فتح قلعه دولت آباد
- beginning: به سردار حق حامه گوینده مرد * خسار سخن را چنین فتح کرد

49. Page-284 "سأهو خیل فی دیر فرستاد که باز حصار محصور ساختن
beginning: که ساهوئے پرکین به محض کمان * که گشتم هوا - حواء شاه جهان
50. Page-286 پیغام صلح فرستادن به فتح خان که سردار لشکر این گروه بود
beginning: بکاری که خواهد شدن بر مراد * ز آغاز پیدا است فتح و کشاد
51. Page-303 "نقب زدن در قلعه و بدست آوردن غنایم و فتح یافتن"
beginning: قلم بهر فتح سوار سخن * چنین نقب زد در حصار سخن
52. Page-331 "داستان فرستادن سلطان شاه شجاع به دارائی دکن"
beginning:
53. Page-334 "داستان در فطمت راه کشمیر و تعریف شهر کشمیر"
beginning: محال است پونیده رایج درنگ * گزشتن به جمعیت از راه تنگ
54. Page-341 داستان توجه اعلی حضرت به شکار و رسیدن خبر سرکشی چهار سنگه بند یله
و توجه اعلی حضرت به ملک آن نابکار
beginning: به گل گشت سحر و عزم شکار * جو صاحب قران داد دل راقرار
55. Page-352 "داستان به قتل رسیدن چهار بند یله"
beginning: قلم چون طفر نامه را تازه کرد * عروس سخن را - نین غازه کرد
56. Page-360 داستان وصول رایات عالیات به دولت آباد و فتح اکثر قلاع دکن
beginning: زبان قلم داستان کهن * کند نوبه تحریر فتح دکن
57. Page-366 در تعریف برشکال دولت آباد
beginning: در ایام خورداد و اردی بهشت * زند دولت آباد ورم از بهشت
58. Page-368 داستان در تعریف قلعه دولت آباد
beginning: حصار که مناش ندیدست کس * بود قلعه دولت آباد و بیس
59. Page-373 "داستان در مدح اعلی حضرت و سفت کمانداری ایشان
beginning: به نیروئے بازو و لطف اله * به بحر کمان چون رود باد شاه

60. Page-375 "داستان در تهنیت وزن اقدس"

beginning: به عالم سبک گشت نوروز و عید * مکر عید وزن مبارک رسید

61. Page-376 "داستان در تعریف مسجد اعلیٰ حضرت که در روضه معینه اساس یافته"

beginning: زهر مسجد پادشاه جهان * که دارد زیت المقدس نشان

62. Page-380 داستان وصول رایات منصوره به دار الخلافه آگره و تهنیت وزن اقدس

beginning: پس از فتح ملک دکن پادشاه * سوئے اکبر آباد زد باد گاه

63. Page-386 "داستان در تعریف شاه برج قلعه اکبر آباد"

beginning: زهر برج شاهنشهر دین پناه * که (هم) شاه بن است و هم برج شاه

64. Page-391 "داستان در تعریف حمام اعلیٰ حضرت"

beginning: به سحر آنکه تهنیت گرمابه داد * بنای بهشتی بر آستان نهاد

65. Page-395 "در تعریف دلبران اکبر آباد"

beginning: به ملک و گر خاطر مژگان نیست * بهشتی به از اکبر آباد نیست

66. Page-395 "در تعریف سفینه اشرف"

beginning: شهنشاه گردد چو کشتی سوار * کشد ماه نومهر را در کنار

The Ms. ends here abruptly. The last line is:

چو صبح کند میل کشتی در آب * کند بحر قالب تهنی چون حباب

Another Ms.¹ seems to be quite identical with the above. The

difference is that, firstly, it does not have headings or titles of the contents and secondly, that it ends with the title which runs as-- "داستان در تعریف حمام اعلیٰ حضرت" i.e. the last

1. Aligarh No. Sulayman 776/51. It is quite defective and is water stained and damaged by worms.

two chapters entitled "در تعریف دلبران اکبر آباد" and "تعریف سفینه اشرف" of the previous Ms. are omitted in this Ms.

The Bankipur Ms. is somewhat different from the above-mentioned two Mss. in arrangement of headings etc. and seems to be a little abridged than these two. It has in all 42 titles out of which certain are not found even in Aligarh Mss. such as "مریخ مغیره ممتاز محل" "کشته شدن شاه زاده ها" "توبه کردن شاه جهان از شراب" "امه بادشاه به علی مردان خان" "تعریف باغ سرهند" "فتح آسام به سرداری اسلام خان" The chronological arrangement of events is mostly identical.

Ali Ibrahim Khan Khalil while making a selection of this mathnawi in his Khulasat-ul-Kalam has given the following headings:

1. "حد"
2. "مناجات"
3. "نعت نبی"
4. "صفت شب هجره"
5. "تولد شاه جهان و تعریف خطبه او"
6. "صفت سرفراز خانم" (1)
7. "تتمه نسب نامه شاه جهان"
8. "گفتار در نامه نوشتن صاحبقران امیر تیموریه جانب قیصر روم"
9. "محاربه کردن امیر تیمور با بلدم با بیزید"
10. "به مکتب نشستن شاه جهان"
11. "گفتار در جشن کتخدائی شاه جهان"
12. "فرستادن جهانگیر شاه جهان را به مهم دکن"
13. "توبه کردن شاه جهان از شراب"
14. "گفتار در جلوس همایون صاحبقران بر تخت"

1. The identity of this lady could not be ascertained. The description of her beauty is loose and not dignified.

15. "گفتار در رسیدن شاهزادگان ازین جانب در حضور"
16. "فتح بندر موکلی"
17. "داستان سید اورت زیب با قیل"
18. "داستان سید نذر محمد خان حاکم بلخ با قیل کابل"
19. "مردن ممتاز حسن و تعریف مقبره او"
20. "داستان سید اسد خان با قیل آسام"
21. "رفتن پادشاه به سیر کشمیر"
22. "تعریف باغ قیل به کشمیر"
23. "گفتار در توجه شاهفرمان نانی به تادیب سحرار سنگه بندیده"
24. "تعریف تالاب"
25. "گفتار در کشته شدن سحرار سنگه و خرابی ملک و مال او"
26. "تعریف دولت آباد"
27. "تعریف کماندار پادشاه"
28. "تعریف عید وزن پادشاه"
29. "تعریف گشتی نشستن شاه جهان"
30. "نامه شاه جهان به علی مردان خان"
31. "تعریف لدا کتاب"

Apart from this Zafar-Namah Qudsi has also written a mathnawi¹ (dedicated to Shahjahan) in praise of Kashmir, its

1. Vide Rampur Ms.No.3434(pp.310-330) beginning:

بنام پادشاه پادشاهان * سرافرازی ده صاحب کلاهان

The proper praise of Kashmir in this Ms. begins on p.314 thus:

حوشا کشمیر و حیات پات کشمیر * که سربرد بهشت از حیات کشمیر

It is the same as is in Bankipur Ms.No.634, fol.128^b. The catalogue says: "This section contains poems in praise of Shahjahan, gardens of Kashmir and some edifices of Shahjahan's time." Part of this mathnawi along with a praise of Shahjahan is also found in the form of two fragments in Rieu (Br. Museum no.323, fol.477^a). It corresponds with India office Library Ms.No.1552 (fol.100^b), is entitled as "در تعریف کشمیر دلپذیر" and it begins as:

بنام پادشاه پادشاهان * سرافرازی ده صاحب کلاهان

palaces and its gardens viz.

"باغ میں بخش" "باغ میں بخش"

"باغ بحرآباد" and "باغ نسیم" "باغ - ہان آرائی" and another mathnawi in the form of a Saqi Namah,¹ beginning:

The former mathnawi differs in metre* from the Zafar Namah but

the latter is in the same metre. In continuation of this mathnawi (Saqi Namah) the author of Khulasat-ul-Kalam² has given headings of several other miscellaneous shorter mathnawis which are of fragmentary type. Some of them viz.

"تعریف حمام" "تعریف شاه بر" "تعریف قلعه دولت آباد" and "تعریف مسجد" begin with the same initial verse as in Zafar Namah. All these headings, however, are:

1. "خطاب بہ ساقی"

beginning:

بہار است ای محسوب نورجست * براہل - ربات این دورجست

2. "درتعریف عشق گوید"

beginning:

ندانم گراز عشق یابی خبر * کہ - ان مرا هست جان دگر

3. "درتعریف سخن"

beginning:

جو غم تماشا عالم کنم * مگر در سخن باغ مکن کنم

4. "در مذمت شعرای بیوقوف"

beginning:

سخن را سخن ور کند بائعال * کہ گوهر فروشد بہ مشق سفال

(In continuation of the preceding page)

It is again the same as India Office Library Mss. Nos. 1553 (item 6), 1554 and 1556; Bodlian Library Ms. No. 1102 item 2; 1104 and 1105; and Majlis-i-Shuara-i-Milli Mss. Nos. 1043, 1045. According to the informations of India Office and Bodlian Library catalogues, this mathnawi was completed A.H. 1044 according to the chronogram:

"سریر بادشاہ بنم آرائی"

1. See also India Office Library Ms. no. 1552, fol. 147^b.

2. Vide fol. 172

5. "تعریف قلم"
beginning: زهی نامه بر مرغ سپهر سیاه * که از سایه مکتوب ریزد براه
6. "تعریف فیل"
beginning: زهی نم گاهی که با آن شتاب * توان رفت بالای زین بخواب
7. "تعریف فیل"
beginning: تعالی الله از پیکر نور بحث * که هم نور بحث است و هم نیک بحث
8. "رزمیه"
beginning: بلا فتنه را باز در می زند * مگر صبح شمشیر سرفی زند
9. "تعریف شمشیر"
beginning: ندارند فتح و ظفر قبله گاه * به خنجر طاق ابروی شمشیر شاه
10. "تعریف قلعه دولت آباد"
beginning: در خنجر را رفعتی یاد نیست * که در قلعه دولت آباد نیست
11. "تعریف شاه بر"
beginning: زهی بر شاهنشاه دین پناه * که هم شاه بر است و هم بر شاه
12. "تعریف نقار"
beginning: زهی سحر برد از صورت نقار * که معنی زعورت کند آشکار
13. "تعریف حمام"
beginning: به سحر آنکه ترتیب گرمابه داد * بنای بهشتی بر آتش نهاد
14. "تعریف مسجد"
beginning: زهی مسجد پادشاه جهان * که دارد زینت المقدس نشان
15. "تعریف کتاب"
beginning: رفیق که هرگز نورزد نفاق * کتابست در زیر این نه رواق
16. "تعریف پیر زال"
beginning: شب شد مرا زال که میهمان * که زال فلک بود پیش جوان
17. "تعریف نغمه"
beginning: بود نغمه آن غارت هوش ها * که حالش صرب رفته در گوی ها
18. "تعریف کرنا و سرنا"
beginning: بود با هوا بد حواهر قرون * که رفت آب کوهر ز گرمابه چرون

19. "در فواید مراعات ادب و تواضع"

beginning: ادب با تواضع چو کردد یکی * دگر در بزرگی نه ماند شکی

20. "در فواید عبور و شکستیانی"

beginning: به افغان پرستی چو دوران مباد * صبر کن ازنا صبوران مباد

21. "در ترک تعلق محازی"

beginning: اگر خاک گردد سراسر تم * نیارد گرفتن هوا دامن

22. "تمشی"

beginning: یکی ممسکی را به بخشش ستود * که ای بر تراز ۰۰۰ () حاتم بخود

23. "نتمه داستان ترک تعلق"

beginning: تعلق هوادان و ترک هوس * بود ترک این هر دو تحرید و بی

24. "در مذمت هرزه درانی"

beginning: کسی را قدم برخاسته نه رفت * که ناخوانده هرگز به جای نه رفت

25. "در مذمت اهل نفاق"

beginning: دلم چون زبان فلم گشت شوق * ز رستخیز دوریان بهم چون ورق

26. "در شکایت خویشان"

beginning: پریشان دلی از دست خویشان مباد * چو از تو نباشند از ایشان مباد

27. "در صفت پیر"

beginning: عنایت شمار ای روان وقت خویش * که مرگی بود پیر از مرگ پیکر

28. "در صفت کد حداثی"

beginning: تمام از دلب گری نبودن دهن * کجا یافتی ربط با هم سخن

29. "در باب ملاحظه از مکر زنان"

beginning: برودست از خون آن زن نشوئی * که با دیگران رفته آب بچوئی

30. "در فواید گریه شب"

beginning: نمی دردن شب زمرگان برآر * چو اشکست شد الماس از کان برآر

31. "در نکوهش عیبت"

beginning: زعیت درین عالم آب و گل * زبان نو آسود نیا سود دل

32. "در فواید نیازمندی"

beginning: کسانی که چون صبح ره سر کنند * جهان را به آه مسخر کنند

In continuation and under the head of the mathnawī in praise of Kashmir, its gardens, streams and rivulets the author of Khulasat-ul-Kalam enumerates also the following stray lines:

1. "در تعریف کشمیر"
beginning after the opening line: "بنام پادشاه پادشاهان الح
as بدولت درجهان کامران رباغ * بهار دولت را به حزان دار
2. "در صفت راه کشمیر"
beginning: به کشمیر اعتقاد مادرست است * ولی ایمان براه سخت سست است
3. "تعریف باغ فنج بح"
beginning: مرا باغ فنج بح است منصور * نه دایم آرزوی روضه حور
4. "تعریف تالاب عفا پور"
beginning: بود حام جهان بین گریه بر نور * ندارد ناب تالاب عفا پور
5. "تعریف باغ بیگم آباد"
beginning: جو آمد سوی باغ بیگم آباد * صبا در روضه جاوید افتاد
6. "تعریف چشمه اجول (۱)"
beginning: اگر عین ابد خواهی در ایام * ز آب چشمه اجول طلب کام
7. "در مدح شاه جهان گوید"
beginning: نه دایم درد و غم این را * خدا دایم در شاه جهان را
3. "تعریف باغ اکبر آباد (۲)"
beginning: برات از شرم باغ اکبر آباد * چون اورا حوی داده بر باد

1. As I enquired from a Kashmiri in Srinagar, he pronounced it as Achh-bal (اجھ بل).

2. Same as in Majlis-i-Shuara-i-Milli Ms. Nos. 1044 (p. 254-269) and 1045, but according to the information of the catalogue in the latter (i.e. No. 1045) it begins as:
"دو تن برسوا شدن عالمی الح
and not as:

"برات از شرم باغ اکبر آباد ۰۰۰۰۰ الح"

9. تعریف دریاچه جون

beginning: زباغ افتاده بحر بے کرانه * که بیک مدین بود حول زمانه

10. "تعریف تحت"

beginning: زهی فرخنده تحت پادشاهی * که شد سامان به تائیدانهای

11. "درصفت بیمار خرد گوید"

beginning: مسلمانان فغان زین ناتوانی * که دارد درگمان زندگانی

He also enumerates another mathnawi in different metre which is

entitled: "بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم" and begins after "در شکایت ابنای زمان گوید"

as:² "در شرح حال خود" . Another entitled "دو برسوا شدن عالمی - الخ

begins:³ "در مذمت مردم" . Another entitled "من چه کنم عم زده" . begins:⁴ "سپهر دان حرف منکران سخن - الخ

"سپهر دان حرف منکران سخن - الخ

1. It corresponds with No.1552 (entitled as "درصفت و ناتوانی" on fol.207^a) in India Office Library with No.1107(fol.1-5^a) in Bodlian Library. According to the information of the Bodlian Library Cat. it ends with praise of Shahjahan as below:

شهنشاهی که از تاریخ عالم * رساند پادشاهی را تابه آدم
زری در کیسه کون و مکان نیست * که بر وی سکه شاه جهان نیست
زبان خامه ام چون گوهر افشاند * شهاب الدین محمد بر زبان راند

2. Same as in India Office Library Ms.No.1552 on fol.210^a-213^a

According to Ethe it is repeated also on fol.301^b. He also mentions that it is actually a portion of another mathnawi appearing in I.O.L. Ms.No.1552, on fol.208^b, and it begins:

زنده دلی بهر تماشا * رفت ز کشمیر به اقصا * هند
The same is found in the Bodlian Library No.1102 fol.45^b and No.1107 fol.21b.

3. Identical with I.O.L. Ms.no.1553 fol.315.^b

4. Same as in I.O.L. Ms.No.1553, fol.316^a.

The selection ends here.

Certain other mathnawis have also been referred to by Rieu and Ethe.¹

CRITICISM ON QUDSI'S POETRY

In the following lines an attempt is being made to examine critically and evaluate Qudsi's poetry under different heads, with a view to bring out the characteristic traits of his art. But before entering upon such critical observation it is proper to cite opinions of a number of contemporary, as well as later, writers and critics.

VIEWS OF VARIOUS WRITERS

Taqi Auhadi, probably the earliest contemporary source of information, on Qudsi praises him as a poet with charming verses, original in concepts and novel in ideas. Abd-un-Nabi in

1. See for instance, Br.Museum Cat. No.Or.351 fol.21^a beginning:

وداع دولت و مار و روض کرد * زراء جنگل () آتش و صن کرد

As is evident, it is not in the metre of Zafar-Namah, and it cannot be said whether it is a portion of some mathnawi or a separate poem itself. Nothing can be affirmed also about the contents regarding a separate mathnawi on Agra. The catalogue further informs--"This section contains... a long description of Agra fol.44^a." See also Ethe (I.O.L. Ms.No.1553, fol.313^b) for another mathnawi with the following heading:

"حکایت آن قاض صریح خلالت و رسیدن ولی از توجه خضر توفیق به سرچشمه زلال هدایت"

In Bodlian Library Ms.No.1107 (fol.7^a, 9^a and 13^a) there are given three separate short mathnawis but in fact they are portions of Zafar-Namah and deal with the exploits of Timur and Babar.

his Maykhanah has made a better statement in this connection. He writes:

"درین سروزمان کسی از شعرا آن بلد طیبه به فصاحت بیان و بلاغت زبان
اونیست - شعرا به غایت پخته و به نهایت به مزه می گردید "

Making a general statement the author of Nazm-i-Guzidah, another contemporary writer on Qudsi, considers him as the most prominent poet in the whole of Khurasan. Inayat Khan Ashna in his Shahjahan Namah¹ gives the following estimate, with particular emphasis on Qudsi's expression of novel ideas:

"قدسی در سخن و زبان عراق و خراسان به حدت قدرت و رسائی صیغت و سلاطنت
کلام و یافتن مضامین بگرامت و تمام دارد "

The author of Tabaqat-i-Shahjahanī makes a reference to his special quality of utilising poetical devices as below:

"به غایت رعایت تلازم شعری بها می آورد "

A very favourable judgement has been passed also by Amina Razwini about Qudsi's poetry. He has referred, in a general way, to the refinement of his language, height of imagination, force of genius and other qualities. He speaks of his odes as well as mathnawi but considers the latter form as superior and higher in excellence. Muhammad Salih Zambu's opinion is more elaborately and ornamentally presented and is in no wise less than an exaggerated speech. It, however, goes in this

1. As quoted by Prof. Shafi in his 'Maykhanah', appendix p.92

way:

"در شیوه سخن ورن منانت و جرات را چنانچه باید رعایت می فرمایند - چون ظهور
فیهی به اندیشه او موقوف است و خفایه نیرمعانی به بی فکر او موقوف در قصیده قصیده
هائیکه نیک می نگارد و در قصیده و غزل و رباعی به تخصیص مثنوی داد گدای و بدائع لفظی
و مثنوی داده ابراد معنی هائیکه برجسته بی آهوی نماید سخن او مانند زربخته
از آلائش خامی منز است و به جمیع وجوه نزد عیار مناسان معنی معقول و موجه - القصه
سخن بلند پایه را همواره از قبیل صعب و سرمایه بلند می جاوید حاصل است - و اکثر معنی
پیش پا افتاده را آن چنان می بندد که از معنی بالا دست پائین کم نه می آرد تا به معنی
والا چه رسد - به اعتقاد عزیزان سخن فهم ازین جهت که مدتها تن به بونه سخن
سنجی گذاشته و قلم را بر ابر معانی ساخته از هم روزگاران سرزنش ترجیح و شایستگی
تفصیل دارد - اگرچه به حسب وجود از زمره متاخران است اما به حسب مزیت و اعتبار
معنی در مقدمان به شمار می آید

While commending Qudsi in general terms Muhammad Salih particularly extols his mathnawi for the use of different figures of speech. According to him his poems are serene, terse, stylish and exquisite. He further adds that Qudsi is well-versed in presenting in a delightfully poetical garb ordinary and common ideas and themes. Mulla Abd-ul-Hamid Lahauri refers mainly to the loveliness of Qudsi's diction and to the novelty of ideas. He sums up his opinion as follows:

"به رنگینی الفاظ و تازه آئینی معانی در دل همگان جا دارد"

Jalal-uddin Muhammad Tabātabai,¹ Qudsi's contemporary fellow-countryman has written on Qudsi's diwan a preface² in prose which was completed, according to his own statement in the preface, on 11th Rabi 1, A.H.1048. In this preface he estimates Qudsi's poetry to have reached the pinnacle of excellence. It is in reality not a preface but a prose encomium of the poet in a language full of rhetorics, ornamental richness, verbosity of diction and laboured epithets. He represents Qudsi as having been endowed with all noble qualities that a literary man can possess. The following extract from it³ can give an idea about its style and the way in which Qudsi has been praised:

..... این فقره عالیہ بعد دانشای دیاجہ ایوان امکانی درآمد و بہ تذهیب این
سریں نگارن از عمدہ ترتیب مجموعہ جامع انسان برآمد - نظم -
زمین قدس نژاد آدمی زاد * کہ شد دیاجہ دیوان ایجاد
بگرد جان کشید از روی ماحر * دو حرف چار دیوار عناصر
.....

فرمان روائے کہ قلم بر اقالیم سبعمہ معانی یک قلم بنان بیان اوست و دارالطک کشور
سحن وری بکسر در زیر نگین سرور او عزیز کہ در ممر تمیز دعوی تسلیم نبوت این مدعا
به سرحد اثبات رسانیده می رسد و در انجمن مباحثات سدره سروران حرف عز پایگی

1. Commonly known as Jalala-i-Tabatabai, was a native of, and had come from Isfahan to India in A.H.1044 (A.D.1634-5) and became a court-chronicler of Shahjahan.
2. As far as we know apart from his preface he also wrote "ش" a historical treatise on Shahjahan's military exploits.
3. This preface is accessible in Qudsi's diwan, Rampur Ms.No.3435 in Manthurat-i-Tamanna (according to Muasir, v, p.162) and in a Bayad in Bankipur Library No.1088(fol.109) beginning:

"سحن آفرینے کہ بہ حکم اقتضای حکمت مدار بر کار نگین ۰۰۰ الخ"
Ethe(Bodlian Library Cat: part 1, Persian Mss.p.636, under Ms.no.1102) is gravely mistaken to have attributed this preface to Vulla Tushra of Mashhad.

Shahnawaz Khan in his *Mirat-i-Aftab Numa* opines as below:

"قصیده و مثنوی و غزلیات دلیل قدرت سخن ری است"
Khan-i-Arzu's view in his *Majma-un-Nafais* runs in the following way:

"قدسی در جمیع فنون صاحب قدرت است خصوصاً در قصیده و مثنوی این قدر هست که او این قصائد ابیات پریشان مثل غزل می آرد لیکن در واقع مضایقه نه دارد چه او این ابیات قصائد را تغزل گویند درین صورت اگر پریشان باشد عیب نیست"

Azad Bilgrami in his *Sarw-i-Azad* writes:

"قدسی جان سخن وری است روح معنی گستری
مثنوی و قصیده قدسی خوب است لیکن غزل چندان رتبه نه دارد"
Ahmad Ali Hashimi, the author of *Makhzan-ul-Gharaib* states:
"قدسی علم حوز سلانی و لسانی شیرین مقالی برافراخته از اقراں او کسی هم سرور
رهم سنگی باری نه داشته"
Kishan Chand in his *Hameshah Bahar* remarks as follows:

"در سخن سنخی و آفرینی و معنی بندی قدرت عالی داشت - در قصیده و غزل و رباعی داد فصاحت و بلاغت می داد علی الخصوص در قصیده و مثنوی
ظفرنامه شاه جهان پادشاه را به فصاحت لفظی و بلاغت معنوی نوشته و داد ادا
بندی و معنی بایی داده"

As is quite obvious, the Qasidah and the mathnawi have been generally held as superior to his odes (ghazals) and, as already quoted, Azad Bilgrami has made an express and emphatical reference to this point, but upon a close and impartial study of all forms of Qudsi's poetry, specially the ghazals, we will come to a different conclusion, i.e. the ghazals will be found to occupy a superior place.

Let us now examine the various forms of Qudsi's poetry

NAAT. The poet has written panegyrics in praise of the prophet and one which is quite prominent begins as:

اے بہ - اے رفتہ گانیا نیست - اے بہرئیل * سر وحدت رانو بہرئیل برائے بہرئیل
The following verses are also attributed to have been the work of Qudsi-i-Mashhadi, but this is not the fact.¹ They are of another poet who happened to be a resident of Delhi and was known as Mauulana Muhammad Jan, poetically named Qudsi.² This analogy of name and poetic title has led to a wrong view.³ These verses, however are:

مرحبا سید مک مدنی العربی * دل و جان باد فدایت چه عجب خو لقبی
من بے دل بہ ماں تو عجب حیرانم * اللہ اللہ چه مالست بدین بوالعجبی
نسبت نیست بہ ذات تو بنی آدم را * برتر از عالم و آدم تو چه عالی نسبی
نخلستان مدینہ ز تو سرسبز مدام * زان شدہ شہرہ آفاق بہ شیرین رصبی
ذات پات نو دریں ملک عرب کردہ شہور * زان سبب آمدہ قرآن بہ زبان عربی
شب ہزار عربی تو گزشت از افلاک * بہ مقام کہ رسیدی نہ رسد هیچ نبی
نسبت خود بہ سگت کردم و بی منفعلم * زانکہ نسبت بہ سگ کو تو شد بے ادبی
ما ہمہ تشنہ لبانیم و توئی آب حیات * رحم فرما کز حد من گزر نہ تشنہ لبی
چشم رحمت بکشاورہ من انداز نظر * ای قریشی لقب و نامی و مسلکی
سیدی انت حبیبی و حبیب قلبی * آمدہ سو تو قدسی پیش در مان قلبی

1. These verses are not found in any of the diwans of Qudsi at the Libraries of Aligarh, Jabibganj (district Aligarh) Rampur and Bankipur.

2. Haji Sayyid Shamsheer Ali his *Sahifa-i-Qudsi* (an anthology of poem in praise of the Prophet compiled in A.H. 1293) writes:

"- منہ پر غز حضرت مولانا محمد جان صاحب نخل قدسی مرحوم دہلوی"
This work (*Sahifa-i-Qudsi*) was actually modelled and further improved on a previous anthology entitled *Udith-i-Qudsi* compiled by one Muhammad Umar in A.H. 1272 at Delhi.

3. The author of *Armughan-i-Pak* (p. 219) has also wrongly attributed this poem to Qudsi-i-Mashhadi.

A good number of quintets have been composed (mostly in Urdu) by various poets as insertions (Tadmins) on this famous Naat.¹ Among those poets who wrote such quintets Bahadur-Shah Zafar, Asad-ullah Khan Ghalib of Delhi, Hakim Yamin Khan Yamin, Mir Mahdi poetically named Majruh, and Imam Bakhsh Sahbai are prominent.²

The praise which Qudsi has written is devoid of any charm or force. Much stress has been laid on embellishment of meaning rather than on pathos and warmth of devotion. To illustrate it some lines are given below:-

اے بجائے رفتہ گادیا نیستِ اے - ہر نیل * سر حکمت راتو جبریل برائے - ہر نیل
گر خدا را - اہل حق میں مدحے مردم برت * اوست میں گفتہ کہ میں آید بجائے جبریل
جبریل از درگاہ فیض گدائی میں کند * گر - بدند انبیاء دایم گدائے جبریل
آرزو و درخاشم بسیار میں ماند دگرہ * گر میں مدد نصیب تو مشک کشائے جبریل
میں گزار دیدہ - ہر نیل بر رویت نگہ * خود تو میں مشوق جبریل وفائے جبریل

1. Vide the rare anthologies, 'Hadith-i-Qudsi' and 'Sahifa-i-Qudsi' Aligarh printed copies Nos. 391.431, 391.432 and 391.433 (printed at the Mustafai press Kanpur, and Mahmud-ul-Matabi, Delhi, respectively).

2. Vide Hadith-i-Qudsi, pp. 55, 114, 91, 92 and 113 respectively Ghalib and Sahbai have written in Persian.

PANEGYRICS

About the Qasidas of Qudsi Shibli writes:¹

"اکبری دور کے شعرا کے بعد غالب آملی اور حاجی محمد جان قدسی نے قصیدہ کو بہت ترقی دی

To pass a general remark, it was the age of the decline of Qasidah. Moreover, after Urfi and Faydi there was left very little or no scope of any further improvement in this form of poetry. Most of Qudsi's Qasidahs are of religious character and mostly follow one particular strain (viz. the praise of the Imam) and, therefore lack variety of theme or expression. They are not as sublime as those of Urfi and Faydi. He tries to enrich his panegyrics with novel ideas, queer expressions, use of different terms, lively similes and metaphors. The most successful portion of his Qasidas are the opening verses of the exordium(تشبیب) which he occasionally renders more charming by utilising themes of a spring

1. Vide Shir-ul-Ajam, v, p.12. In this very continuation Shibli has made certain misleading remarks. Instead of writing A.H. 1042 as the date of the poet's arrival in India, he writes A.H.1142, a difference of full hundred years. As for A.H.1045 and 1054 the two important dates of Qudsi's stay in India, he has, again, wrongly inserted as A.H.1145 and 1154. Above all, he is not correct again when he, most authoritatively, declares that a number of Qudsi's panegyrics were written in praise of Emperor Jahangir also and that he (Qudsi) was the first, at the Court of Shahjahan, on whom the title of Malik-ush-Shuara was conferred, obviously meaning thereby that after Qudsi the said title was bestowed upon some other poet-obviously Kalim. In fact, Qudsi does not appear to have written a single panegyric in praise of Emperor Jahangir nor was he ever made the poet-laureate.

poem or a wine poem (بهاریه و خماریه). The following verses for instance are an apt illustrations:

بهار آمد و گل بر شگفتگی زد چنگ * قفس بیار که با هم (ما هم) زدیم بر آهنگ
 به باغ در نظر عندلیب شاهد گل * به فکر آنکه دهد ملوہ خویش را به چه رنگ
 فتاد دوری من ز چشم راه روان * که بانظر تماشائی لاله شد فرسنگ
 نم بهار چنان کرد نغمه را سیراب * که می دهد زر ابریا در رشته چنگ
 شمار رنگ گل از باغبان چه می پرسی * ز عندلیب شنونغمه های رنگا رنگ
 بهار با قلم من کیسوی سنبل * کشیده در سفری نقد مانی وار رنگ
 ز شوق سبزه سرد گر ثوابت و سیار * زنند خیمه جو سحرانیاں بروی آفتاب
 زین که شد در ب افروز دامن صحرا * چو تار چنگ زند تار داده بر آهنگ
 شگفته شد کن ساعریه سایه مینا * به سایه کرچه نه دارد گل از شگفتن رنگ

As is quite evident, the apparent beauties of these verses are originality of concept (جدت خیال) beauty of expression

(حسن تعلیل) and poetical aetiology (حسن ادا). Sometimes in his exordiums he takes up the form of a ghazal by expressing disconnected ideas in separate verses.¹ The author of Khizana-i-

1. In this very Qasidah whose verses have just been quoted this feature is to be easily discernible in the following lines:

به بنم از آمدن عید تازه دردم * ز سکه کرده تواضع خمیده قامت چنگ
 زشم دامن تر با کسی نه دارم چنگ * که تیغ شعله برآرد زهیزم تر رنگ
 بود جوشانه ضرور () دونه بر هر کف * هر آنکه در سوزلف نگار دارد چنگ
 ز ناز عریده سویان روزگار میری * ز خون پراست دل شیشه از تقافل سنگ

Amirah has referred to this point in this way:

"قدس تشبیب قصیده را مثل غزل اکثر پریشان می گوید - این خود مضایقه نه دارد لیکن گاهی راه بل گزاشته از ساحل به ساحل دیگر زنند می زند - یعنی تخلص را که حد اوسط بین الجملین () حیرت باد گفته دفعه از تشبیب بر سر مدح می آید - این را اقتضاب گویند - بر سه بیعت بسیار ناگوار است - چنانچه وصف بهار می کند و می گوید :

ز فین مقدم نوروز و لطف ابر بهار * امید وصل ز هزاران دمید گل از خار
ز کس دله و گس حالت شد چنان روشن * که مرده را بنمود حاجت چرخ مزار
ز سکه تازه و تر شد ز اعتدال هوا * گل چرخ توان زد به گوشه دستار
اگر به باغ روز صبح دم به گوی رسد * صدای خنده گل بیشتر ز صوت هزار
ز سکه پیکر اصفال شاخ نازک شد * دهان عنجه شد از بوسه نسیم نگار
چنین که خاک من دل کشی است و دامن گیر * عجب که گل برد امسال کی بوی بازار
میان امست پرزانه دین بلبل گیر * قدم بیرون منه از باغ خاصه فعل بهار

بعد ازین به رعایت ارتباط شروع به مدح می کند و می گوید :

غریب صوس که چون مهر قبه حرم * به شرق و غرب رسانید لعل انوار

و در قصیده دیگر تشبیب به سوز غزل مشتمل بر مطالب می کند - بیت آخر تشبیب این است -

کسی که در ره مرغان قدس دام کشید * چو دانه افکند زور کار گوهر آور

بعد این بیت مدح سر می کند و می گوید :

امام مشرق و هرب شهید خطه طوس * علی موسی جعفر شفیع روز نشود

This variety of themes as in the verses of ghazal is again

discernible in the opening verses of another Qasidah in the following way:

نه کند جلوه گری روی تو در دیده ما * عکس آئینه در آئینه نه گردد پیدا

درجمن از که مراعات ادب داری چشم * بلبلان مست و صبا به خود و گل برے پروا
 بنم عشرت مده از دست که در موسم گل * در بدن روح چنانست که می در مینا
 حلقه مار به از حلقه ارباب نفاق * کینه چرخ به از کینه اصحاب دعا
 عشق در مردن و در زیستن از من نبرند * غلط است این که بود گور جدا خانه جدا
 به کف پایے توسو گند که داغ دارد * کف خاکے که ترا بوسه زند بر کف پا
 هم جوشع که پریشان شده باشد تار * بر سر هر مزه در بنم تو چشم است مرا
 ناخن بر جگر خویان زن در ره عشق * به که صد سال کسی تیشه زند بر خارا
 جز دل غنچه که از یاد لببت گلگون است * نه شنیدم که زمی رنگ بر آرد مینا

In a Qasidah the exordium is in the form of a beautiful wine poem as expressed below:-

خون شد جگر من ز غرق می و ساغر * ساقی قدحی پر کن ازان خون کبوتر
 آن می که ز شرم قدح جگر چشمه حیوان * از روز ازل آمده لب خشک و جبین تر
 آن می که اگر بر تو آن بر چمن افتد * نرگس شود افروخته چون لاله احمر
 آن می که به خورشید بود نسبت جامان * مشهور تر از نسبت خورشید به حاور
 ظاهر شود از بر تو آن صبح تجلی * گرتیره شب از شیشه کند نقل به ساغر
 یک جام علاج نه کند کاش جونیگس * بودی کمر انگشت مرا ساغر دیگر
 آن کس که شود خضر رهم تا بر ساقی * چون خضر درین میکده از عمر خورد بر
 نشکست خمار من ازین باده که خوردم * ساقی سر من گرم کن از نشاء دیگر

The main feature of Qudsi's panegyrics is, however, novelty of ideas occasionally coupled with intricacy of expression, but there are also original ideas which do not lack charm and are embellished with his characteristic poetical aetiology (حسن تعلیل)

and charm of comparison(حسن منابیه). The poet mainly concentrates on saying something new in a twisted and abstruse manner. While praising his lord, Hadrat Imam Ali Rida, he maintains the same complexity of ideas in the following verses:¹

باد سیرک دستن کند و بال کشاید * بازکرم آن روز که از بیضه زند سر
از چارخدا آوازه هر خشت حریمن * گوید به سکندر که شد آئینه مکرر
بر ناف همان لحظه خورد تیر جو جوگان * گه گوید فلک از خم جوگان کشد سر
پیش قلم دست سمندر پیش تعظیم * برخاست ز جا جاده چون رشته مسطر
آید به نظر شیشه می شیشه ساعت * می بین که شد از نهی تو با خاک برابر
نهی توبه خالص چو ساند گه تصویر * در کلک مصورش کند صورت ساغر
از عدل توازیس که خجل بود چو آهو * بر پرده رقم کرد قضا شکل غصفر
خود را سوخته آتش کند از دغدغه خاشاک * جوید مدد از آب به صد وا همه آذر
در کاسه سرخوین زند عقرب پیکان * در چشمه دل غوطه خورد ماهی خنجر

To illustrate the point under discussion the following verses of another Qasidah are hereby quoted.²

زیس فشرده تنم را به امتحان زنجیر * مرا نشسته جو حوهر در استخوان زنجیر
بر آستانه او غیر تا قدم نه نهید * ز نقاش جبهه کشیدم بر آستان زنجیر
ز قید ناله من تا اثر برون نه جهد * زدود آه کشم گرد آسمان زنجیر
سپهر اگر سردوران زند نداشت چرا * ز موج گریه من بست بر میان زنجیر

Another peculiarity of Qudsi's panegyrics is that most of them are imbued with the element of 'subjectivity' which thus strengthens the notion of essential relationship between life and art.

1. Vide Diwan-i-Qudsi, Aligarh Ms. fol.37^b, 38^a.

2. Ibid, fol.38^b.

As already cited on numerous previous occasions, most of the personal as well as biographical references are derived from his panegyrics.

Another characteristic feature is that in his frenzy of devotion to and love for the Imam and his shrine he occasionally reaches the height of hyperbolic expression in a way as to render inferior in sanctity even the sacred place of Macca and the elevated paradise. The following verses are quoted to illustrate this point.¹

شهی که در نظر ساکنان درگه او * بهشت درجه حساب است و کعبه درجه شمار
روضه ات به فلک ساکنان فرونگرد * که زیر فرا حرم تو عرش راست مدار
به روضه تو نسب می کند بهشت درست * ولی ز خویشی او روضه تو دارد عار

The following short extracts of various panegyrics of Qudsi are being given to furnish a general idea about the style and salient features of 'originality of ideas', beauty of expression and poetical aetiology.²

اگر ز حسرت ساحل به لب رسد جانم * رخ نیاز نیام به ناخدا گز خدا
برای زینت مرگان به دیده خواهم خون * و گرنه بر کف دریا کسی به بسته حنا
ز داغ لاله سیاهی نه می تواند شست * اگر چه صرف کند ابر ماه دریا
Then coming to praise his spiritual lord he says:

در سراپه معانی زش جهت باز است * به روی من به ثنائی یگانه دوسرا
سحاب رحمت یزدان در محیط رسول * ضیائی چشم ولی نور دیده زهرا
بهار خرمی خاصر حسین و حسن * سرور سینه زین العباد شمع هدا

1. Vide Diwan-i-Qudsi, Aligarh Ms. fol.22^b,23^a

2. Ibid fol.4^a.

In another panegyric he writes:¹

صبح وصلی گریس از عمری براندازد نقاب * روی در زردی نهد پیش از مهیدان آفتاب
 بسته ام بر چشقه وصل بتان چشم امید * سادگی بین کز گل تصویر می جویم گلاب
 نیستم آگه که چون شد حال مرغ نامه بر * این قدر دامن که پر خون است جنگال عتاب
 ساده لوحی بین که انکار تب حرمان کنم * من که نبض می جهد روشن تر از تیرشهاب
 گر نباشد دامن دردستان مشوایم که عشق * کوهکن رادر گلو کرد از رگ خارا اصاب
 از سم دامن جنون خواهد رسیدن تابه پای * اندک اندک بر زمین افتد ز دیوار آفتاب

The following verses belong to another panegyric.²

از بس دل افسرده ام افتاده ز کار است * بر سینه من داغ گل روی مزار است
 از تیره سرانجامی من هیچ می رسد * صد گونه خد روز مرا بر شب تار است
 در بحر غم آن به که کسی دست نه گیرد * صوفان طبعی را که میان به زکنار است
 بے ناخن غم داغ دلم تازه نه گردد * افروختگی های گل از پهلوی خار است

He begins the exordium of another panegyric with the following charming verses.³

عاشقان جان داده اند و روی جانان دیده اند * تانه پندارند بے دردان که آسان دیده اند
 آشنایان دیده که برهم زنند آئینه وار * لذت دیدن مگر در چشم حیران دیده اند
 اے مسیحا چاره خود کن که بیماران عشق * در دراکلگونه رخسار درمان دیده اند

While eulogizing the Imam he thus writes with force of expression,⁴

بر تو مهر جوهر خشت درس پرده کشید * می توان گفت بر آئینه بنشست غبار
 اے که از خجلت قندیل حریمت به مثل * از فلک ریخته انجم جو عرق بر رخسار
 ریشه پنجه بد خواه ز بیم تو فشاند * جوهر از تیغ جویباران زرگ ابرسهار

1. Vide Diwan-i-Qudsi, Aligarh Ms. fol. 9^a
 2. Ibid, fol. 14^b
 3. Ibid, fol. 19^a
 4. Ibid, fol. 29^a

In the opening verses of another panegyric he gives expression to very fine and forceful ideas.¹

مهر غیر منه دل درین سرائے عرور * که در به هر چه نهی با همتان شوی محشور
گو که اهل دل از نور دوست بے خبرند * رهبست از دل عاشق کشیده تارک طور
بانی عره که این رنگ و بوی عاربتی * زلف چورنگ حنای رود برون به مرور
مام خانه جنگست عرصه شصت * زمانه را مشعر امن اگر چه شد مغمور
رنشاط تو بر خویش بسته ورنه * کشوده اند برویت در سرائے سرور

Then criticising the selfish people of his time he says by way of a simile:

بسان مردم چشمند مردم این دور * که بانهایت نزدیکی اند از هم دور
Then in praise of the good people of the good olden days he thus says:

جدا شدیم ز پیشینه رفتگان یارب * بود جو جوهر آئینه گورشان بر نور
And then in the same continuation he writes:

به مرگ خویش بمیرو به حال خویش بزی * اعانت غم و شادی مکن جو مانم و صبور
چه ناله ها که کشودم من و نه کرد صبا * ز بوی مشک بداعم هدایت ناسور
هزار جوش زد و تلخ نیست پنداری * نمک به باده مار بختند در انگور
دو چشم من ز گهر بیختند دریا را * خیال دوست چو در دیده ام نمود عبور
نخست مشکل عاشق حقیقت عشق است * که بانهایت اخفاست در کمال ظهور

In the exordium of that panegyric which begins as an elegy of his son's death and which ultimately takes up the form of praise of Hadrat Imam Ali Rida, the pathos and the depth

1. Vide Diwan-i-Qudsi, Aligarh Ms. fol. 33^b.

of emotions is well expressed in the following lines:¹

جهان فراخ و مرا عید آنچنان تنگ است * که می کنم کف خاک از هزار حابر سر
 نه گریه ام دل دریا شد آنچنان سوراخ * که در عود نتوان یافتن نه سفته گهر
 نه بود از تر و خشک زمانه ام سودی * به غیر این که بهم خشک بود و چشم تر
 به خانه دل من از دری در آمده غم * که متکل است نمودن ره دیگر سو در
 بهار صاقت من رو نهاده در زردی * فتاده کشتی صبرم به موج حیر خطر

And then with his usual device viz. beauty of comparison

(حسن مثالبه) he goes on to say:

غم گران نه رود از دلم جوعیش سبک * نه دیده کسی که کند کار بادبان لنگر

And then in the style of Khaqani he says:

مرازجین قبا خفته مار در دامن * مرازبند کمر گشته از دها به کمر

To sum up, Qudsi's panegyrics abound in novelty of ideas and expressions, usual intricacy of thought and diction, beauty of comparison and metaphors and poetical aetiology. They certainly lack what is known as sublimity and grandeur.

ODES OR LYRICAL POEMS (GHAZALS).

Although, curiously, a number of biographers have held his odes to be of a low standard (especially in comparison with his panegyrics and Mathnawis), yet the ghazal seems to be Qudsi's main sphere of action in poetry. The lyrical portion in his diwans is not of great bulk but whatever is there, it is substantially good and charming.

1. Vide Diwan-i-Qudsi, Aligarh Ms. fol. 35^a.

QUDSI REPRESENTING THE LATER GROUP OF POETS

Judging from the point of view of the history of Persian literature Qudsi belongs to the later group of poets (سابقه متاخرين) and possesses, roughly speaking, all those qualities which are salient features of the poetry of later times. In fact, it was the age of the ascendancy of the ghazal. Shibli¹ has, at some length, discussed the pattern and style of poetry under Timurids, and which was, according to him originated by Fughani of Shiraz. From his time and onwards, there had been introduced in Persian poetry a style which was quite different from old classical style of poetry of medieval times (دور متوسطين) whose special quality was simplicity and directness of ideas and clarity of expression. But with the change in the conditions of life and society, in general, nicety and elegance became the hall-mark of cultural atmosphere and they greatly influenced literature and art. Plainliness of thought gave way to intricacy of imagination and lucid style of expression was replaced by indirectness and complexity of expression, introducing an altogether new trend in Persian poetry.² The poets were chiefly interested in utilising the device of 'equivocation' (استهساام) and in

1. Shir-ul-Ajam, iii, pp.3-23

2. The period of Qudsi and his contemporaries can be termed, in a way, as a transitional period when such subtleties and intricacies had not still reached the climax. Later Persian poetry specially the ghazal was virtually made an enigma or riddle by poets like Nasir Ali and Bedil.

concentrating upon subtlety of metaphors (نزاکت استعارات) and novelty of similes (ندرت تشبہہ). In this direction, however, India led the van. Those poets who were dissatisfied with literary conditions in Persia, came to India and, following the model set up by Fughani, gave a fresh glamour to it. In the words of Ghalib this style was rendered perfect and charming by Zuhuri, Naziri, Urfi and Naui, who introduced charm of variety in it. Ghalib thus comments:¹

"فغانی اور ایک شیوہ خاس کا مبدع ہوا - خیالہائے نازک و معانی بلند - اس شیوہ کی تکمیل کی ظہوری و نظیری و عرفی و نوعی نے سبحان اللہ قالب سخن میں جان پڑگئی۔ اس روس کو بعد اس کے صاحبان صبیح نے سلاست کا چرچا دیا - صائب و کلیم و سلیم و قدسی و حکیم شغانی اس زمرہ میں ہیں"

In this way we find that the scope of the style of Fughani was further enlarged by the class of poets, named above, in which Qudsi has also been included. As a rule, therefore, he adheres to this track as a devout follower, and sometimes lays stress on saying something new with force of imagination and complexity of thought,² but on occasions when he has deviated from the normal course he has produced great charm in his lyrical poems. The greatness of Qudsi's ghazals lies in the fact that mostly in them he has beautifully blended the element of 'novelty of

1. Adabi Khutut-1-Ghalib, ed. Askari pp.87-8

2. In this connection Shibli (Shir-ul-Ajam, iii, p.20) quotes the following couplet of Qudsi:

عیش ابن باغ بہ اندازہ یک تنگ دل است * کاش گل غنچہ شود نادل ما بکشاید

ideas' with 'simplicity of expression! Such verses are full of force and effect, like the following ones:

بالغ که گلشن بونه دهد عشق مجاز است * تجمع که کسک بزنه خورد اشک نیاز است
خوار و عزیز بهم آمیخته در عشق * در گام درین باده صد شیب و فراز است
بی حاذبه عشق به منزل نه توان رفت * گر راه خرابات و گمراه حجاز است
قدسی سخن من همه حاکمت من بود * چون شمع که از حرب زبانی به گداز است

Another striking quality of his odes is that he has generally expressed real emotions and feelings which is an essentially integral and inseparable part of the ghazal. See, for instance, the following verses which are extremely lucid and simple, yet are full of purely lyrical strain (عنصر تغزل) and possess a unique harmony of thought and diction:²

دلم بپزای این و آن نه دارد * عی غیر از عم جانان نه دارد
زجان بگسل رنج مسر ز جانان * که جان دارد عود جانان نه دارد
مترس از کشتن مایه گناهان * که خون عاشقان تاوان نه دارد
کے از سوز دلم باشد خبردار * کسی کو آتشی در جان نه دارد
به قید شیشه نتوان دید مع را * که پوست طاقت زندان نه دارد

The beauty of comparison and simile³ (حسن مثالیه و تشبیه) is

1. Vide Diwan-i-Qudsi, Aligarh Ms. fol. 97^b

2. Ibid fol. 120^a

3. In fact this particular quality pervades the whole of his poetry. In the following quatrain while comparing the heart of an Arif with a mirror and the world with a mountain, he presents an exquisite comparison. He writes thus:

دنیا مشوق عاشق دین نه شود * شیدائی آن شیفته این نه شود
باردل عارف نه شود حلوه دهر * آئینه زعکس کوه سنگین نه شود

another prominent aspect of his ghazals. It is presented in the following verses:

زود به کردم من بے عبرتِ خوی را * اول شب می کشد مقلی چراغِ خوی را
or,

غم محوم آورد و من در فکرِ بے سامانیم * میزبانِ خلعت کشد هر چند مهمانِ آشناست
or,

ز جاکِ سینه ام دل می کند نظاره زاف * جو مرغی کز قفسِ بینه به حسرتِ آشیان را
or,

خوانی رفت و داغی ماند بر دل یادگارِ ازی * خوانِ سرخی که بر ناخنِ پای از رنگِ حنا ماند
or

کوتاه املی باش که چون رشته سوزن * پیوسته تیره می خورد آن سرکه دراز است

To be brief, there are various elements which are harmoniously blended and fused together in his ghazals. There is, simultaneously, originality of concepts or flight of imagination, purity of lyrical beauty, sweetness of style and expression, beauty of comparison and novelty of metaphors. Some selected verses of his various ghazals are quoted below:¹

آتشِ مزاج من بگزار این عتاب را * حینِ بر زمین نه دیده کسی آفتاب را
خون شد دلم ز حسرتِ پیکانِ عجزه ات * کی برگزینی تشنه نه می بندد آب را
برے نگار من به چمنِ بردی ای نسیم * گردنِ زرشک در رنگِ گلِ خون گلاب را
or,²

داده عشقم باده نابی که می سوزد مرا * خورده ام از جامِ خضرایی که می سوزد مرا
شبِ فغانم رفته بود از یادِ مصرِ صدم * زده تارِ حنّ مضرای که می سوزد مرا
قبله بتخانه را گویند برے بت است * در اینست مصرایی که می سوزد مرا
شد مقیم گوشه ویرانه بر بیادِ دوست * یافت قدسی کنجِ نابایی که می سوزد مرا

1. Diwan-i-Qudsi, Aligarh Ms. fol.93^a

2. Ibid, fol.88^b

or,¹

مراقبت محبت زندگی و ارستگی مرگست * به سراپا چو سرو از گل برون آم اگر بار
به چشم خون فشان رفتم ز شهرستان برون روی * چو برب غنچه برگردم ز گل دامان سحرار
نسیم نگرزد بر شاخ گل در گلشن کتمان * که خایه نشکند در سینه از عبرت زلیخا را
سر لعل محبت تنه باشد بر هوای ناکان * فصل شهرزندان می نماید اهل سحر را

or,²

شد بهار از توبه کردن بایدم اکنون گزشت * می رسد چون گل توان از باد گلگون گزشت
من که شمع محفل قریم سراپا سوختم * حال بیرون ماندگان بزم یارب چون گزشت
چوردشمن شد فراموش از نفاق دوستان * کین یاران با من از بد مهر یاران گزشت
گریه بر تنهایی خود نیست قدس را بدست * می خورد افسوس ایامی که بر منهن گزشت

or,³

هر که امشب می نه می نوشد به مامسوب نیست * بارسا در حلقه مستان نشستن خوب نیست
در چنین فصلی که بلبل مست و گلشن پر گل است * گر همه پیمانها عمر است خالی خوب نیست
سرنوشتم راقضا از لب پریشان ز درقم * هر که دید در گفت مضمون دین مکتوب نیست
در بیابان تنها هر قدم دیوانه است * لیک مضمون نبودن کار هر مجذوب نیست
ابتلا عشق را میسند جز بر جان من * در بلا هر مورک را طاقت ایوب نیست

or,⁴

دل که عشق بگردان حلاله دای کجاست * جبر دهید که فانوس بی چراغ کجاست
هزار دای به دل دام و نه می دام * ز پی خودی که مراد دل کجاست
صریق عشق تو پی خون دیده نتوان رفت * جو روز من شده تاریک ره چراغ کجاست

1. Diwan-i-Qudsi, Aligarh Ms. fol.38^a-b2. Ibid, fol.93^a-b

3. Ibid

4. Ibid

or,¹

برسر راهی نه دایم لذت از انتظار * یارپندارد که امروز از ره دیگر گزشت
آنکه مشکل بود عینِ حال از نادیدن * درش بامن بود و بر من حال مشکل تر گزشت
الحذر از آه قدسی گامشب از درد فراق * تابه لب از سینه آه بر سر نشتر گزشت

or,²

گزشت فصل گل و رغبت حمن باقیست * وداع کرد شراب و خمار من باقیست
برای حبیب دریدن عزیز دایم دست * اگر چه پیرهنم پاره شد کفن باقیست
کفایت است دلیل بقای راز و نیاز * فسانه که ز شیرین و کوهکن باقیست
شکست خام سرفغان شدند و مرد چراغ * ز سادگی دل من خوار که انجمن باقیست
اگر روی به سفر رغبت است و غم قدسی * اگر سفر نه کنی محبت وطن باقیست

or,³

بازم نشسته تا مره در دل نگاه کیست * رزم سیاه کرده چشم سیاه کیست
بآنکه صرف شد همه عمرم در انتظار * آگه نیم هنوز که چشم براه کیست
دل دادن و سخن نشنیدن گناه من * دل بردن و نگاه نه کردن گناه کیست
قدسی دلم اگر نه خراشیده غمزه ای * الطاف بر چرا حتم از برق آه کیست

or,⁴

کشادی طره و مشرق ختن سوخت * نقاب از رخ فگندی صد حمن سوخت
نشستی باریت و من که بام * زدی آتش به غیرو جان من سوخت
برآمد دود از جان زلیخا * مگر یعقوب در بیت الحزن سوخت
نه دارد بر جگر خون لاله داح * دلم بر حال مرگ نسترن سوخت

or,⁵

در مجلسی که باران شرب مدام کردند * نوبت به ما جوانان آتی به جام کردند
این جامع محبت آنجا سزای عیان * آسان دو گیتی بر ما حرام کردند

1. Diwan-i-Qudsi, Aligarh Ms. fol.93b-94b
2. Ibid fol.94a
3. Ibid, fol.96b
4. Ibid, fol.98b
5. Ibid, fol.119a

or,¹

آن عنجه ام که راز دلم بر ملانه شد * گر شد زبان به شکوه رضادل رضانه شد
 نیرنگ بین که جزنگه آشنانه کرد * بیگانه که در همه عمر آشنانه شد
 قدسی ز جاک پیرهن گل حسد بریم * گان هم چرا نصیب گریبان مانه شد

or,²

دلم خون شد چو دیدم حلقه حلقه گشته گیسویان * گمان بردم که هر یک چشم حیران است بر رویان
 چو داغ هر سرمویش گرفتار دگر خواهد * سر بر دارد دلم چون شانه با هر تار گیسویش

or,³

وام دل اماچه دل صد گونه حرمان در بفل * جشی و خون در آستین اشکی و طوفان در بفل
 باد صبا از کوئے نو گریز سوز جمن * گل عنجه گردد تا کند بوئے تو پنهان در بفل
 کو قاصدے از کوئے او تا در نثار مقدمش * هر طفل اشک از دیده ام بیرون دود جان در بفل
 برق ز عارض بر فغن یک صبح دم تا جاودان * گردد فرامش صبح را خورشید تابان در بفل
 قدسی نه دامن چون شود سوداے بازار جزا * او نقد آموزان به کف من حسن عصیان در بفل

or,⁴

تا نشود آزاده کسی بعد هلا کم * زنجیر به گردن به سپارید به خاکم
 نگراشت به خوب عدم شیون بلبل * گل ریخته بودند مگر بر سر خاکم

or,⁵

من لذت درد تو به درمان نه فروشم * کفر سر زلف تو به ایمان نه فروشم
 در دل ز خیال گل زوئے تو خلیده * خار به صد گلشن رضوان نه فروشم
 صد جان فدایت که دهم دامن از دست * دشوار بدست آمد و آسان نه فروشم
 عد خار خلد در جگر و لب نه کشایم * در باغ جو بلبل گل افغان نه فروشم

1. Diwan-i-Qudsi, Aligarh Ms. fol.114^b2. Ibid fol.122^b3. Ibid fol.126^a4. Ibid fol.127^a5. Ibid fol.128^a

کام دو جهان در عوالم نه ستانم * این حسن گرامی به کس ارزان فروشم
قدسی من و تردامش عشق جو زاهد * هرگز به کسی پاکش دامان نه فروشم

اے عندلیب وصل ہم آواز کیستی * دمساز ماغم است تو دمساز کیستی¹
نگزاشت رشک ورنہ جمالت نمود می * آن را کہ گفتہ شیفتہ ناز کیستی
قدسی ز حال خویشتن آگہ نیستی * پیچ خود چنین ز چشم فسون ساز کیستی

MATHNAWIS (COUPLET POEMS) As already pointed out, besides the

Zafar-Namah which is purely of a historical nature Qudsi's

mathnawis deal with other topics also such as descriptions of various places, buildings and edifices, palaces, and gardens.

About the content and form of these mathnawis a good deal of information has been supplied in the beginning of this chapter.

What remains now is to determine their literary value. Such poems are generally lucid in expression, simple and clear in ideas.

The poet occasionally embellishes his mathnawis with poetical aetiology and subtle metaphors, similes and comparisons. In

praise of Kashmir, its gardens, verdure and springs the poet writes:²

خوشا کشمیر و خاک پاک کشمیر	* کہ سر برزد بہشت از خاک کشمیر
سرادش سرمہ چشم بہار است	* بہشت و جوی شیرین آب لار است
ز جوی سبزہ درکوب و بیابان	* زمین کشتہ و ناکشتہ یکسان
بہ زیر سبزہ رہ درکوب و صحرا	* جواز عقد ز مرد رشتہ پیدا
بود مایل بہ سبزی خاک پاکش	* مگر آب ز مرد خوردہ خاکش
ز قین ابری روید درین کاخ	* ز تار شمع گل بہار از رنگ شاع
نثار برور گر صورت حار	* ز تاثیر هوا گل آورد بار

1. *Diwān-i-Qudsi*, Aligarh Ms. fol. 145^b

2. See *Bādshāh-Namah of Lahauri* vol. 1 pt. 11, p. 21.

While praising a particular spring of Kashmir named Maghhi Bhawan, he renders the following beautiful verses:¹

اشارت جانب این چشمه از دور * کند انگشت را فواره نور
مگر باقوت اینجا آب خورده * که آب آبروی را نبرده
بروئے چشمه ماهی مع کشیده * چو مرتان طایء تیر روی دبدہ

The description which Qudsi gives of the mountain range of Pir Panjāl (or Panchal) and its difficult and almost unpassable route, is fine and has been made all the more charming with an impressive poetical effect of hyperbole. The following verses are an illustration:¹

معاذ اللہ ز راه پیر پنجال * کہ مثلان دیدہ کم چرخ کہن سال
عبادردامن زان می خرامد * کہ نتواند بہ بالاین بر آمد
سرابا گشتہ حیرت چرخ واما * کہ رہ این کوه را خون رفته بالا
بود مشکل گزشتن زمین رہ تنگ * درین رہ راه رونقش ست برسنگ

The same style is to be found in his another poem (in the same metre) which he wrote on the completion of the Peacock throne.²

1. Lahauri's Badshah-Namah, vol.1 Pt. 11, p.19

2. Abd-ul-Hamid Lahauri in his Badshah Namah (1, Pt.11, p.80) quotes twenty verses and informs that these were inscribed in enamel by order of Shahjahan. The last hemistich is the chronogram and gives A.H.1044 as the year of the completion of the illustrious throne.

He thus praises it:

زهی فرخنده تخت پادشاهی * که شد سامان به تائید الهی
 فلک روزی که می کرد مکمل * زر خورشید را بگداخت اول
 به حکم کارفرما صرف شد پاک * به مینا کارین مینای افلاک
 زیاقوتی که در قید بهمان نیست * لب لعل بتان رادل به جانبست
 خرا بجزوگان پیرایه او * پناه عز و کرسی سایه او
 دهد شاه جهان را بوسه بریلے * ازان شد پایه قدرش فلک سائے
 اثر باقی ستاکون و مکان را * بود بر تخت شاه جهان را
 جوتاریخت زبان پرسید از دل * بگفت اورنگ شاهنشاه عادل

On occasions when the poet praises his master he freely indulges in exaggeration, as is found in the following verses of Zafar-Namah.¹

تمام آفریدن جهان آفرین * همین است انسان کامل همین
 مصورچنان صورت را نداشت * کز آن خوب تر صورت امکان نه داشت
 ز نخل قدس کرد تا سرو یاد * حوائج خرامیدن از سر نهاد

But as it is characteristic with Zafar-Namah, while dealing with historical events and incidents, the poet has, on the whole, restricted himself for a factual description. Yet, entering upon themes which demand and suit a poetic expression he lets loose the reins of his thoughts. While praising the rainy season of Daulat-Abad in the Deccan, he expresses it with spontaneity

1. Vide Zafar-Nama-i-Qudsi, Aligarh Ms. No.F.A.81, p.19-20.

and charm of exaggeration in the following lines:¹

در ایام خورداد واردی بهشت * زند دولت آباد دم از بهشت
 زدنهای صبارفته گرد ملا * هوا بهشت است یا بر شکان
 نه دیده کسی جز درین مر غزار * به قلب الاسد ابتدای بهار
 نه شمعش کند از سها احتراز * نه از شعله بر شمع دست گداز

In his praise for the lofty fort of Daulat-Abād he writes:²

حصاری که منظر ندیده است کسی * بود قلعه دولت آباد و بی
 فلک را بخ از رفعت پایه ای * کبود است از لطمه سایه ای
 خرد را بود خند قی در نظر * ز فکر خرد مند ته دار تر
 بود مملکت را عروس این حصار * که پایین بود از شفق در نگار

TARKIB AND TARJI BANDS (STROPHES AND RETURN TIES).

Qudsi's Tarkib and Tarji Bands are, according to their themes, mostly erotic or amatory poems. Nevertheless, they are on other subjects also such as the praise of the Imām, or elegies on his son Muhammad Baqir and other persons.³ The elegies which he has written on his son's death are fine pieces of poetry. Those are thoroughly subjective, full of pathos and, quite naturally, abound in sincerity of emotions. In those two famous Tarkib Bands which he wrote, firstly, at the time of his

1. Vide Zafar-Nama-i-Qudsi, Aligarh Ms. No. P.A.81, p.366

2. Zafar-Namah, p.368

3. Among such persons we have been able to ascertain only about one and that is Qarchuqai Khan, governor of Mashhad and, apparently, Qudsi's patron and benefactor. Rieu, (ii, p.684, under no.323, vii) informs as under:
 "Verses on the death of the poet's son and other persons in the form of Tarkib Bands".

departure for Iraq, and secondly, at the time of leaving for India, he deals, mainly, with the praise of his spiritual lord and also expresses and explains his circumstances in which he had to leave his native place.

There is the famous Sāqi Nāmah (a wine-poem with an invocation to the Sāqi) in the form of a Tarji Band which he begins as follows:¹

مخمر زدل سوئے لب آمد نفسی ما * فریاد رس اے ساقی فریاد رس ما
2
RUBAIS (QUATRAINS)

The quatrains of Qudsi are not very striking. However, in them he has tried to develop certain formal themes. These are religious, ethical, mystical as well as erotic in their content. Some of them are quoted below:³

قدسی بدلت هوئے کامست هنوز * خوناب جگر بر تو حرام است هنوز
آسوده دل تہمتی عشق مشو * در آب مرن کوزه کہ جام است هنوز
4
or,

از دوری خود بیہ پروہالم کردی * دانستہ گرفتار ملالم کردی
رفتی ز نظر راجہ نہ رفتی از یاد * دیوانہ سوداے خیالم کردی
5
or,

در حضرت دوست اند و جان راجہ بقا * باقی ہمہ اوست این و آن راجہ بقا
خرسند بجان و تسلی بہ جہان * جان راجہ نبات است و جہان راجہ بقا
6
or,

بگذار جواہ آسمان ہوئی را * چون اشک مکن پیشہ زمین شوئی را
بیرون مرو از سرب مردان خدا * آموز ز حق یافتہ حق جوئی را

1. Vide Diwan-i-Qudsi, Aligarh Ms. fol. 69^b

2. In the end of the Diwan-i-Qudsi, Aligarh Ms. (No. A.S. 859/86) there is a very large selection of his Rubais. They are mostly ambiguous and abstruse and possess no charm. Probably they are the product of the earlier part of Qudsi's poetic career.

3. Vide Diwan-i-Qudsi, Rampur Ms. No. 3484 p. 550

4. Ibid p. 557

5. Ibid p. 568

6. Ibid p. 569

or,¹

هرکام که درجهان میسر گردد * هرگاه به پایان رسد ابتر گردد
نیگونه بود هیچ مرادے به کمال * چون صفحه تمام شد ورق برگردد

In praise of Love, he says:²

با عشق روان شد از عدم مرکب ما * روشن ز شراب وصل دایم شب ما
زان مے که حرام نیست در مذهب ما * تا صبح عدم خشک نیایی لب ما
or,³

عشق است صریق و راه و پیغمبر ما * ما زاده عشق و عشق بد ما در ما
اے مادر ما نهفته در چادر ما * پنهان شده از طبیعت کافر ما

About the unstability and transitoriness of life and this world he thus writes:

کوتاه کند زمانه این دمدمه را * وز هم بدرد گرگ فنا این رمه را
اندر سر هر کس غرور بست و لبیک * سیلی اجل قفا زند این همه را
He renders the doctrine of pantheism in the following Ruabi.⁴

اندر دل من درون و بیرون همه اوست * و اندر تن من جان و برگ و خون همه اوست
اینجائے چگونه کفر و ایمان گنجد * بی چون باشد وجود من چون همه اوست

THE QITAS (FRAGMENTARY POEMS)

Qudsi has written several fragmentary poems⁵ but those are mainly on contemporary events which took place in India during his own days. They lack prominent literary beauty. Those were written, as a matter of fact, as a part of the duty of a court poet. But their historical value cannot be denied as they are

1. Vide Diwan-i-Qudsi, Rampur Ms.No.3484 p.612

2. Vide Diwan-i-Qudsi, Aligarh Ms. fol.148a

3. Ibid, fol.149a

4. Ibid, fol.150a

5. Ibid, fol.154a

chronograms giving some date or the other about certain happenings. Qudsi wrote, for instance, a fragment on the flight and defect of Jujhar Singh Bundela. The last hemistich, however, gives A.H.1045 as the year of this occurrence. On the erection of some building in Agra he wrote another fragment which gives A.H.1042. To celebrate the capture of the Deccan by Shahjahan he wrote a fragment whose last hemistich gives A.H.1045 as the date of the victory. On the occasion of the marriage of prince Sultan Shuja in A.H.1042, he composed a similar fragment. In addition to these, he also wrote other similar poems as chronograms giving dates and years of events which took place even before his arrival in India, e.g. birth of Shahjahan, birth of prince Aurangzeb, etc. etc.

1. See Diwan-i-Qudsi, Bankipur Ms. No.684, ff. 282-7.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

1. Adabi Khutut-i-Ghalib: (ed. Askari, Lucknow)
2. Ain-i-Akbari: Abul-Fadl: Delhi, A.H.1274
3. Alam Ara-i-Abbasi: Iskandar Munshi, Tehran
4. Amal-i-Salih (or Shahjahan Namah): Muhammad Salih Kambu:
(ed. Ghulam Yazdani), A.S.B. pub., 1923
5. Arafat-ul-Ashiqin: Taqi Auhadi: Bankipur Oriental
Library Ms., No.230 (vol. 11)
6. Armughan-i-Pak: Shaykh Muhammad Ikram: Karachi
7. Atashkadah: Lutf-Ali Beg Adhar: Bombay, A.H.1299
8. Badshah-Namah: Amina-i-Qazwini: Rampur Library Ms.No.2091
9. Badshah-Namah: Mulla Abd-ul-Hamid Lahauri: A.S.B.
pub., 1868.
10. Bagh-i-Maani: Naqsh Ali: Bankipur Oriental Library Ms.No.208
11. Bazm-i-Timuriya: Sabah-uddin Abd-ur-Rahman, Azamgarh
12. Bustan-i-Bekhizan: Fadl-Ali Khan: Rampur State Library
Ms.No.2413.
13. Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the British Museum:
Charles Rieu.
14. Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the India Office Library:
Herman Ethe.
15. Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the Bodleian Library:
H.Ethe
16. Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the Bankipur Oriental
Library Abd-ul-Muqtadir.

17. Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the Buhar Library,
Calcutta, : Maulvī Qāsim Haṣīr Raḍavī.
18. Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the Library of the Kings
of Awadh: A.Sprenger.
19. Catalogue of the Persian Mss. in the Library of Majlis-i-
Shuara-i-Millī, (Tehran): Ibn-i-Yūsuf Shirāzī.
20. Diwan-i-Qudsi: Aligarh Muslim University Library Ms.
No.A.S.849/86
21. Diwan-i-Qudsi: Bankipur Oriental Library Mss. Nos.607,684
and 685.
22. Diwan-i-Qudsi: Habibganj Library Ms. No.13-47/169
23. Diwan-i-Qudsi: Rampur State Library Mss. Nos.3484,3485
and 3486.
24. Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol. ii, 1927
25. Fanus-i-Khayal: Sayf-uddin; Aligarh Muslim University
Library, Ms. No.Sub.920/25 p.
26. Hadith-i-Qudsi: Muhammad Umar: Delhi A.H.1272
27. Haft Asman: Agha Ahmad Ali, A.S.B. Pub., 1873
28. Hameshah Bahar: Kishan Chand Ikhlās: Bankipur Oriental
Library Ms. No.243
29. History of India: H.Elliot vol. vii
30. History of Jahangir: Beni Prasad
31. History of Persian Literature in Modern times (A.D.1500-
1924) E.G.Browne.
32. History of Shahjahan of Dihli: Banarsi Prasad Saxena.
33. Islamic Society: A.K.S. Lambton: London.

34. *Kalimāt-ush-Shu'arā*: Mīr Afḡal Sarkhush: Aligarh Muslim University, Library Ms. No.A.S.629/50.
35. *Khizāna-i-Amīrah*: Ghulām Alī Azād Bilgramī: Aligarh Muslim University Library Ms. No.A.S.639/60; also Nawal Kishore Kanpur.
36. *Khulasat-ul-Afkār*: Abū Ṭalīb Isfahānī: Bankipur Oriental Library Ms. No.219.
37. *Khulasat-ul-Kalām*: Alī Ibrahim Khan Khalīl: Bankipur Oriental Library Ms. No.220
38. *Maāthir-i-Raḥīmī*: Abd-ul-Bāqī Nihāwandī: A.S.B.Pub.
39. *Maāthir-i-Umarā*: Shah Nawaz Khan A.S.B. Pub. 1338.
40. *Majma-ul-Fuṣaḥa*: Rida Qulī Khan Hidayat: A.H.1293, Tehran.
41. *Majma-un-Nafais*: Sirāj-uddīn Alī Khan Arzu: Rampur State Library Ms. No.2404
42. *Makhzan-ul-Gharaib*: Ahmad Alī Hashīmī: Habibganj Ms.
43. *Maykhanah* (Sāqī Namah or collection of Saqī Namas)
Abd-un-Nabī Fakhr-uz-Zamānī: Aligarh Muslim University Library Ms (Munir Alam collection); also ed. Muḥammad Shafī, Lahore, 1927.
44. *Mirat-i-Aftab Numa*: Shah-Nawaz Khan: Aligarh Muslim University Library Ms. No.A.S.252/123
45. *Mirat-ul-Khayāl*: Sher Khan Lodi: Aligarh Muslim University Library Ms. No.Ahsan 920/3
46. *Mughal Poetry*: Hadī Hasan
47. *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*: Muḥammad Hashīm 'Khafī Khan'; A.S.B. pub., 1925.

48. Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh: vol. iii Abd-ul-Qādir Badauni:
A.S.B. pub., 1869.
49. Natā'ij-ul-Afkar: Qudrat-ullāh: Habibganj Ms. No.51/19.
50. Nazm-i-Guzidah: Hajī Mullā Muhammad Sadiq Tabrezi: Aligarh
Muslim University Library Ms. No.Sub.920/23-24.
51. Nigāristān-i-Fārs: Muhammad Husayn Azad
52. Nishtar-i-Ishq: Husayn Qulī Khan: Rampur State Library Ms.
No.2421.
53. Oriental Biographical dictionary: Thomas William Beale.
54. Persian Literature: C.A.Storey
55. Riyād-ush-Shuarā: Ali Qulī Khan Walih: Aligarh Muslim
University Library Ms. No.A.S.630/51
56. Safina-i-Bekhabar: Azmat-ullah 'Bekhabar': Aligarh Muslim
University Library Ms. No.Ahsan 920/8.
57. Safina-i-Khushgo: Vrindāban Das 'Khushgo': Aligarh Muslim
Library Ms. No.Lytton F.A.34.
58. Ṣahifa-i-Qudsi: Shamsher Ali: Kanpur.
59. Sarw-i-Azad: Ghulam Ali 'Azad' Bilgrami: Aligarh Muslim
University Library Ms. No.Ahsan 920/1; Also under the
title of Maathir-ul-Kiram, Lahore edition, 1913.
60. Sham-i-Anjuman: Siddiq Hasan Khan: Bhopal.
61. Shir-ul-Ajam vol. iii: Shibli Nūmānī.
62. Subh-i-Ṣadiq: Muhammad Ṣadiq: Aligarh Muslim University
Library Ms. No.A.S.654/75
63. Ṣuhuf-i-Ibrahim: Ali Ibrahim Khan Khalil: Bankipur
Oriental Library Ms. No.228.

64. Ṭabaqāt-i-Shahjahani: Muḥammad Sadiq 'Sadiqi':Habibganj Ms.
65. Tadhkira-i-Husayni: Husayn Dost: Nawal Kishore Lucknow, 1875.
66. Tadhkira-i-Khush Nawisan: Ghulam Muhammad: A.S.B. pub. 1910.
67. Tadhkirat-ul-Muluk: ed. V.Minorsky, Gibb Memorial Series, 1943.
68. Tadhkirat-ush-Shuara: Abd-ul-Ghani: Aligarh, 1916.
69. Tadhkirat-ush-Shuara: Mir Ala-ud-Daula Ashraf Ali Khān: Rampur State Library Ms. no.2409.
70. Tadhkira-i-Shuara-i-Madiyah: Haydar Husayn: Habibganj Ms. No.51/12
71. Tadhkirat-ush-Shuara: Tahir Naṣrabadī: Tehran.
72. Tadhkira-i-Takmilat-ush-Shuara: Quḍrat-ullah Shauq: Rampur State Library Ms. no.2414.
73. Tārīkh-i-Ṭabarī (Persian Translation): vol. iv, Nawal Kishore.
74. Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri: Aligarh edition.
75. Yad-i-Bayda: Ghulam Ali 'Azad' Bilgrami: Aligarh Muslim University Library Ms., No.Ahsan 920/7.
76. Zinat-ul-Majalis: Iran Pub.

Magazines

77. Indo-Iranica (Calcutta) : June and Sept., 1957
 78. Islamic Culture(Hyderabad)
 79. Muāsir (Patna): part v.
-